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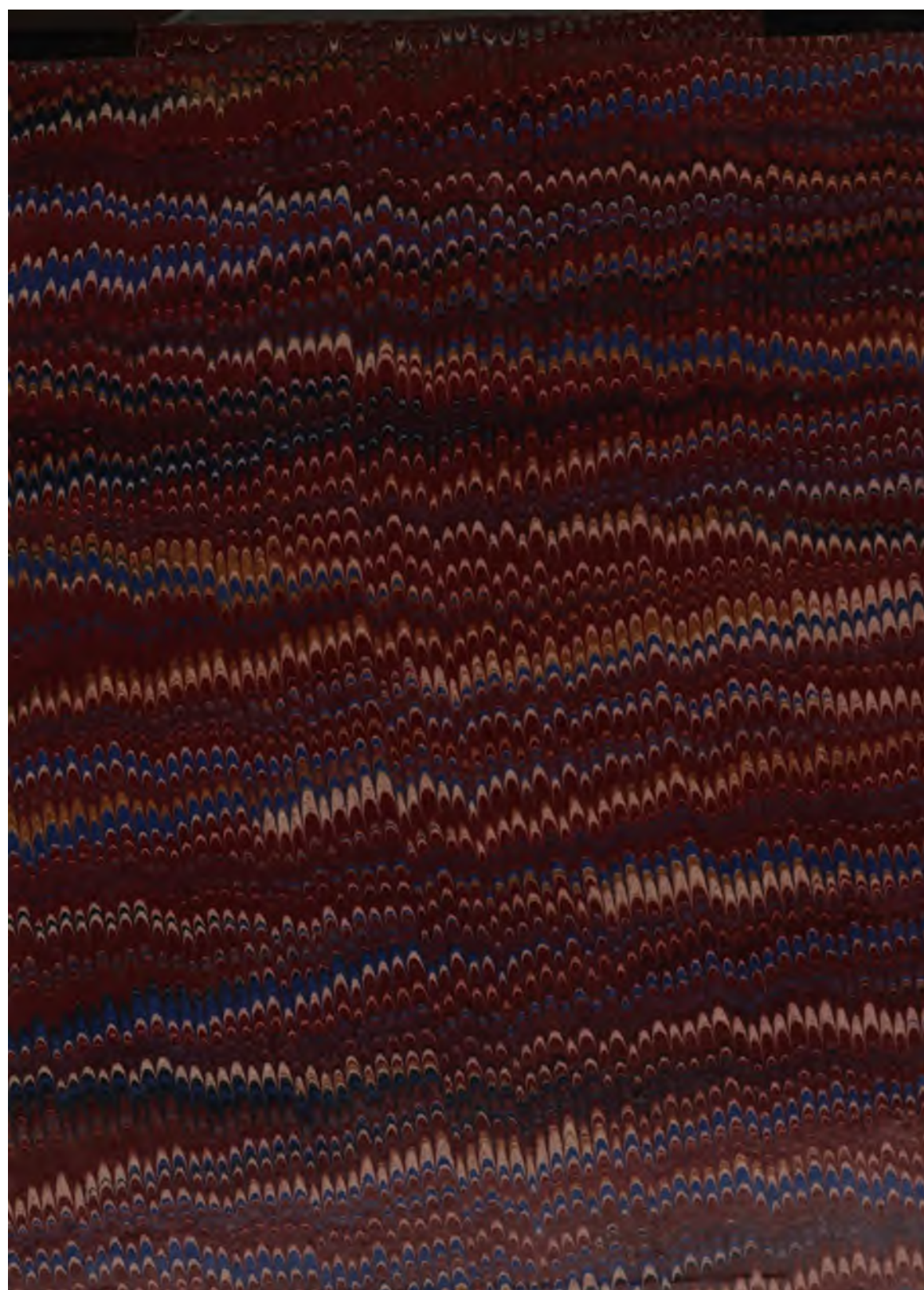
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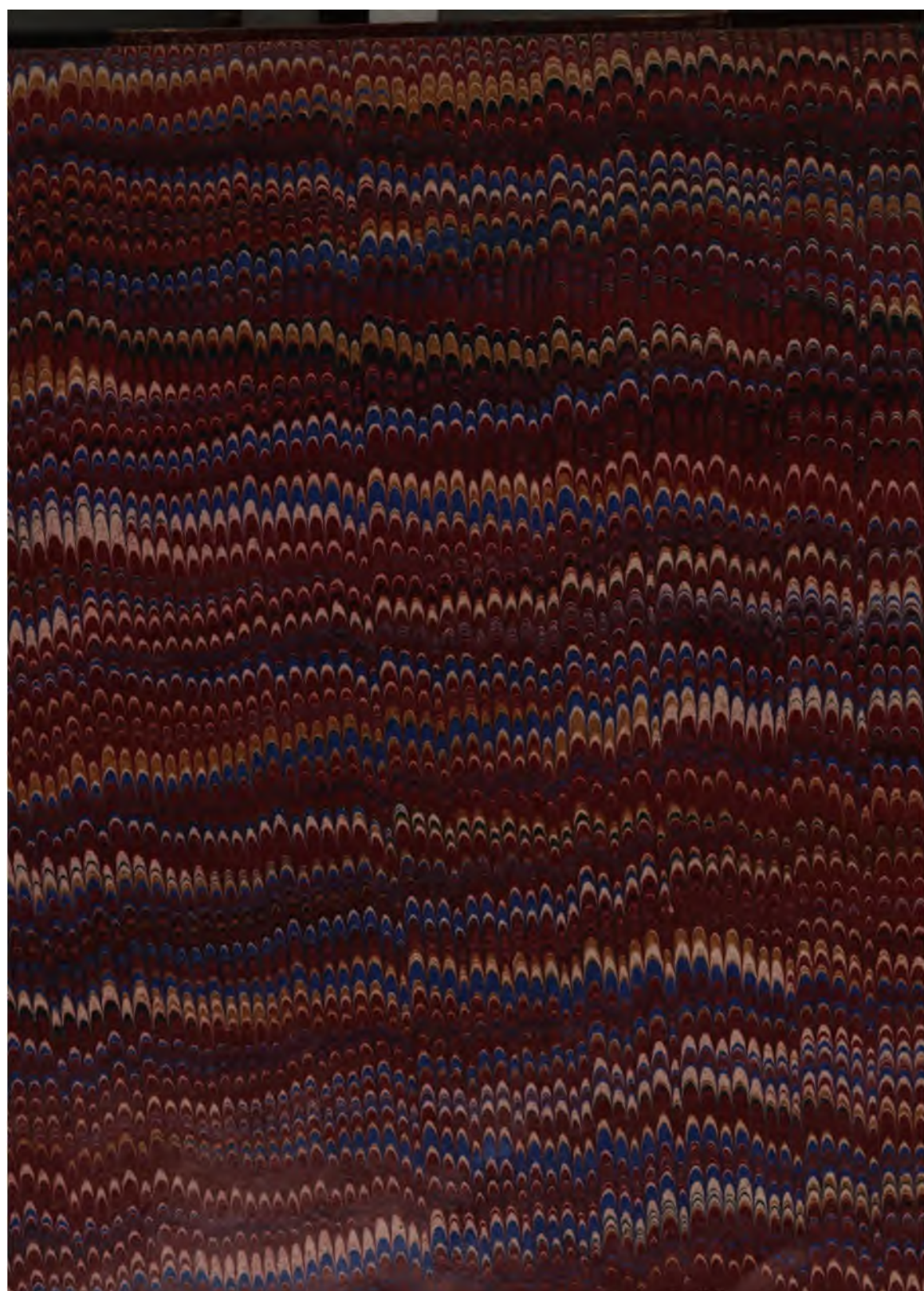
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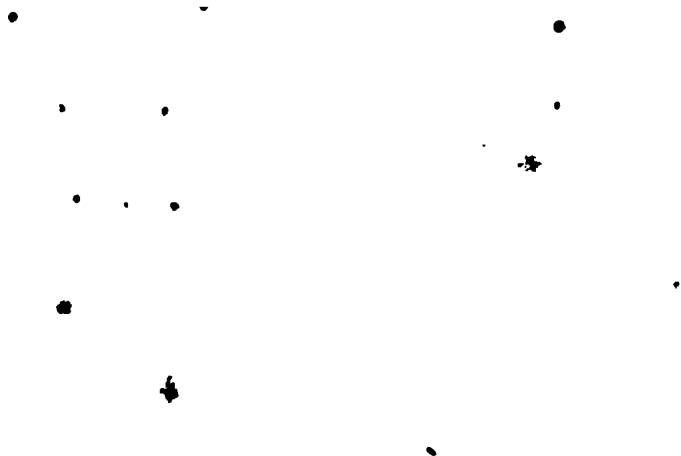
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EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS,  
BY THE  
REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, LL.D. (EDINB.), F.S.A.  
ST. GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE.

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*IN SEVENTEEN VOLUMES.*

VOL. XV.

- (a) ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND in Gentle and Simple life. (1595.)  
(b) RICHARD CAREW'S "Godfrey of Bulloigne," etc. (1594.)

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1881.





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# ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

IN

## GENTLE AND SIMPLE LIFE.

BEING

- I. England's address to her Three Daughters,  
the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford,  
and Lincoln's Inn : from Polimanteia, 1595.
- II. A Quest of Enquirie by Women to know  
whether the Tripe-woman was trimmed,  
1595.

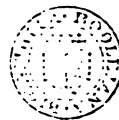
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REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, LL.D., F.S.A.,

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*Sixty-two Copies only.*



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POLIMANTEIA,  
OR,  
*The meanes lawfull and vnlawfull, to*  
IUDGE OF THE FALL OF A  
*COMMON-WEALTH, AGAINST*  
the friuolous and foolish conie-  
*ctures of this age.*

Whereunto is added,  
*A letter from England to her three daughters,*  
*Cambridge, Oxford, Innes of Court,* and to all the  
rest of her inhabitants: perfwading them to a  
constant vnitie of what religion soever they  
*are, for the defence of our dread soveraigne,*  
and natiue cuntry: most requisite for  
this time wherein wee  
now live.

*Inuide, quod nequeas imitari carpere noli :*  
*Nil nisi cum sumptu mentem oculosq. iuvat.*



*Printed by Iohn Legate, Printer to the Vniuersitie*  
*of Cambridge. 1595.*

And are to be sold at the signe of the Sunne in Pauls  
Church-yard in London.



TO THE RIGHT  
*honourable, Robert Devorax Earle*  
 of Effex and Ewe, Vicount of Hereforde, Lord  
*Ferrer of Chartley, Borchet, and Lovaine, Ma-*  
 ster of the Queenes Maiesties Horfe, Knight  
*of the noble order of the Garter, and one of*  
 her Maiesties most Honourable  
 privie Councell



T is easie to gesse (honourable Lorde) why Schollars flocke under the patronage of men in your place ; their condition is so weake, that unlesse men truly, honourable doe defend them, they are most of all in this age distressed. And yet (braue noble Lorde) ingeniously to confesse my true meaning) it is not that which moued me at this time ; but it is the height of admiration which my thoughts conceiued of your honours worth, that made me thinke all men bound to offer signes of loue and dutie, where both are deserued in so high a measure. I take vpon me *Englands* person and speake like a Common-wealth, And therefore howfoeuer it were presumption in me to dedicate papers of so small moment, to a personage of so rare worth, yet (honourable Lorde) take them as your cuntries talke, vouchsafe to reade them stamped with her name, and so all shall be afraid to mislike them, beeing graced with yours. And yet I weigh not whether others mislike them or no ; let but your honour for learnings sake (a thing which I know you doe) say you are content to accept of the meanest trifle, and grace it with a good looke, and  
 () 2 then

*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*      =

then I contemne what male-contented melancholy can speake against me. Your honour (be it spoken without envie) like Englands Cedar is sprung up to preferue with your shadowe, the humblest in all professions, from hatreds malice. The warlike and braue soldier thinks himselfe (and that in truth is) graced, to be tearmed but your follower. The worthy and kinde pafsionate Courtier deemes (and worthily) this his honour, to be your fauorite. The sober and devout student, that dispised doeth walke melancholy, takes himselfe (and not without cause) fortunate to be tearmed your schollar. Thus all relye noble Lord, upon your fauour. And I (who though I must needs honour) yet usually with so deepe affection am not deuoted without cause) doe so in kindnesse and loue (if that be not a word too presumptuous) passe over the full interest of my selfe to your dispose, as in what kinde fortune a schollar may doe his dutie, I am ready and desirous to be commanded by you : then accept (noble lorde) the willing mind of him that hath nothing else : and say, that that alone, is absolutely sufficient to content you. Read it, but (or if that be to much) doe but accept it, and so rest. Whereof not doubting in the midst of so many signes of a schollar respecting honour, in dutie I kisse my hand, and humbly take my leaue.

*Your honours in all duty most affectionate,*

W. C.

## *The Preface to the Reader.*



*We* are fallen into the barren age of the worlde  
 (courteous Reader) wherein though some fewe  
 trauaile to expell Barbarisme, (which fortu-  
 nately they haue done in our English tongue) yet  
 a number of idle conceited-wisefoolish heades  
 take vpon them peremptorily to censure other  
 mens paines: so that euery man is loath to enter into the viewe why many  
 whilſt Idlenes shall stand controlling and give her sentence. I write not.  
 know it could fit theſe to write, but that magni laboris eſt quem Ignorance  
 plerique fugimus. Homer wrote of the trauailes of the wor- ſits idle and  
 thie Græcian Vlyſſes; Curtius of Alexander and Darius; In vaine doe  
 Rome had neuer bene ſo renowned but for Titus Livius; we complain  
 Thucydides eterniſid Iafon and Minotaure; and ſweet Saluſt of multitude  
 Iugurth and Cateline: nay this wiſe age, long ſince had bene of bookes.  
 plaine fooliſh, if our painefull forefathers had not trauailed for  
 their good. And if any man thinke this age is too wiſely learned  
 to read any thing which is but ſome fewe droppes of that mayne  
 Ocean which overflowed in their daies, let him knowe this, that  
 care added to their induſtrious trauailes, is eaſily able to perform  
 matters of great importance. Learning was let looſe ouer all  
 Europe euer ſince Athens did firſt flouriſh (excepting a fewe  
 yeares when the Gothes and Vandalls compelled her to liue in  
 exile) who flying faſt from their furie left Italie and thoſe famous  
 places, and planted her ſelfe ſo firmly in theſe poore countreies,  
 that euer ſince amongſt vs ſhee hath liued honourably. Thus in  
 the abundance of our knowledge, he that hath taken pains, ſtands  
 at the courteſie of euery paltrie fellowe to be censured as it pleaſe  
 him. In conſideration whereof, wiſe men haue deemed it the ſa-  
 feſt, ſecretly to ſmile, and ſoberly to ſay nothing. For my paines I  
 much care not, I eſteeme thee (Reader) as thou doſt me, for (dege-  
 nerous minds intreated, grow inſolent:) the daies are euill, and Zanch.  
 the argument is fit for theſe times; I knowe diuers haue trauail- N. B. B. Gallici.  
 led in the ſame kinde, whome I but humble (without wronging  
 them) to ſpeake vnto thy capacitie: Nobilitie fully learned made My L. Henry  
 choice Howard.

() 3

## The Preface to the Reader.

*choice to handle the same argument, and with such profounde deepe skill performe it, as that truth taketh her selfe much bound vnto him, who made her to speake eloquently that wish to be plaine, and false prophesies ashamed, who so long have vsurped truths titles. From hence maist thou learne (or at least remember) that the greatest Monarches (howeuer proud in their owne strength) must either fall with an enemies stroke, or (as Rome did) with her owne weight: here maist thou see that nothing is so made, but subiect to great change. And yet least thou desire to knowe what thou oughtest not, I haue laboured to make knowne what thou shouldst desire: my leure will not serue to detain thee long, and a short preface is bysleming so small paines. I take my leave, and if thou hast deigned I giue thee thanks: onely this I must add further vnto to accuse others, or make an Apologie for my selfe that I neuer yet in the least syllable of the so termed English line, meant either to modestie, pietie, chastitie, true, the Muses, or sinners to doe wrong; neither should the surmised doubt of my manner, or the dearest which that doubt hath, impart in me but the least shadow of supposed iniurie: for I neither ment to make anye poeue a true historie, or thought that wise courtiers would be so suspicious to misdeeme him, whose thoughts long since were directed to graver studies: from whence taking in here but to pause a little, my penne grew passionate, and my stile papers flattered murmurs flew abroad (I protest) not to offend any: thus I haue finished that which which truth decries) who can thinke out which would, to believe what I haue spoken herein, and (if thou please) for my sake to accept For such a this. And should euen Balduclum make diuine poeue to be Coxcombe, but by a true, I haue the vnto and argument to be defended by the Muses comments, and such (if you will) to have descended with equals penurie. Farewell.*

*Diluuium, terræ motus, contagia passim  
Bella, fames, mundi quid reliquum exitio est?  
Ignis & ipse prope est: unde hæc? ex arce tonantis:  
Tot mala quid mundo congerit? Impietas.  
Anne salutis adhuc spes ulla est? unica: quisnam  
Porriget hanc? pietas: hæc ubi? nullus habet:  
Quid stas munde? rue, ut pietas est nulla; ruentem  
Sic video; auxilium numina læsa negant.*

*Inscriptio portæ.*

*Si nihil ædificas, quid spectas nostra viator?  
Aut mea ne carpas, aut meliora struas.  
Si meliora tenes, id divos poscito mecum,  
Ne, quodvterque tenet, fascinet inuidia.*

*Labor.*

*O labor, ô sudor, scelerati præmia morsus,  
Ah satis natos occule terra tuos.*

*Nec omnia nec omnes mihi  
placere; quidnam ego omnibus?  
non omnibus Cuius senex,  
non Eremita Spagirus,  
nam tu viator omnibus?  
deo placere cura, abei.*



## The Preface to the Reader.

*choice to handle the same argument, and with such profounde deepe skill performde it, as that truth taketh her selfe much bound unto him, who made her to speake eloquently that vsed to be plaine, and false prophecies ashamed, who so long have vsurped truths titles. From hence maist thou learne (or at least remember) that the greatest Monarches (howsoever proud in their owne strength) must either fall with an enemies stroake, or (as Rome did) with her owne waight: here maist thou see that nothing is so made, but subiect to great change. And yet least thou desire to knowe what thou oughtest not, I haue laboured to make knowne what thou shouldest desire: my leisure will not serue to detain thee long, and a short preface is befitting so small paines. I take my leaue, and (if thou hast deserued) I giue thee thanks: onely this I must add further (not to accuse others, or make an Apologie for my selfe) that I neuer yet in the least syllable of the so tearmed loosest line, meant either to modestie, pietie, chastitie, time, the Muses, or kindnes to doe wrong; neither should the surmised object of my muses song, or the dearest which that object hath, suspect in me but the least shadow of supposed iniurie: for I neither ment to make loose poetrie a true historie, or thought that wise courtesie would be so suspicious to misdeeme him, whose thoughts long since were deuoted to grauer studies: from whence taking leisure but to pause a little, my penne grewe passionate, and my idle papers scattered vnawares flew abroad (I protest) not to offend any: thus I binde thee (by that credit which truth deserues) whosoever thou art which reades, to beleue what I haue spoken herein, and (if thou please) for my sake to accept For such a this. And because euery Balductum makes diuine poetrie to be Coxcombe. but base rime, I leaue thee (sacred eloquence) to be defended by the Muses ornaments, and such (despised) to liue tormented with enailes pouertie. Farewell.*

## INTRODUCTION.

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### I. ENGLAND'S ADDRESS TO HER THREE DAUGHTERS ..... 1595. (See full title on page 1.)

THERE is no name on the title-page of *Polimanteia*—whence *England's address to her Three Daughters* is fetched—and only the initials 'W. C.' appended to the Epistle-dedicatory to the Earl of Essex. Mr. W. C. Hazlitt (*Hand-Book*, s.n.) has ascribed the book to a WILLIAM CLARKE, without authority as without any elucidation or explanation. Thomson, in the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, s.n., gives the name as WILLIAM CLERKE—with these details—"matriculated as a sizar of Trinity College in June 1575: became a scholar of that house and 1578-9 proceeded B.A. He was soon afterwards elected a fellow and in 1582 commenced M.A." He adds—"He is the supposed author of

The Triall of Bastardie: that part of the second Part of Policie or manner of Government of the Realme of England: so termed, Spirituall, or Ecclesiasticall. Annexed at the end of this Treatise, touching the prohibition of Marriage, a Table of the Leviticall, English, and Positive Canon Catalogues, their concordance and difference. London, 4to, 1584. Dedicated to Robert Redmayn, doctor of law, judge-delegate and commissary (for the vacancy of the see) within the city and diocese of Norwich."

Then follows the title-page of *Polimanteia*. It will be observed that neither does the *Athenæ Cantab.* adduce authority for the assignation of either *Triall of Bastardie* or of *Polimanteia* to William Clerke. Its compiler—who was most painstaking and careful—probably simply accepted the entry in Dr. Bliss's Sale-catalogue, vol. i. p. 77. I—for one—wish more were known of this William Clerke and his authorship of these two noticeable books. I have not had opportunity of seeing the *Triall of Bastardie*. Prob-

ably the terms of the dedication to Redmayn of Norwich point to some connection of the Writer with Norwich. But for the present at least W. C. and even William Clerke is but *nominis umbra*. It is clear that he was supremely 'taken' by the great Earl of Essex. Few tributes even to him give one a deeper sense of the hold he had on contemporary Englishmen than *Polimanteia's* Epistle-dedicatory.

That which alone has been a 'preserving salt for *Polimanteia* is the author's evident familiarity with his most illustrious contemporaries. Thomson (as before) commits the usual error of saying that *England's Address* contains "the earliest known publication in which our immortal dramatist is alluded to by name." Dr. Ingleby's *Century* has shown this to be a mistake. None the less is the allusion to Shakespeare right memorable and noteworthy. In 1595, spite of *Titus Andronicus*: *King Henry VI.*, pt. i.: *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: *The Comedy of Errors*: *Venus and Adonis*: *King Henry VI.*, pt. ii.: *Love's Labour's Lost*: *Romeo and Juliet*: *Sonnets*: *King Henry VI.*, pt. iii.: *Lucrece*: *The Taming of the Shrew*: *King Richard III.*: *The Merchant of Venice*, and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, he was mainly known as "sweet Shakespeare," save that *Lucrece* is designated (as I read the margin-note) "All praise worthy Lucrecia," (p. 44.) My conception is that 'sweet,' like the charming traditional 'gentle,' was meant to characterize the man rather than the Poet (or Dramatist). If so—then the further margin-note (p. 45) 'Wanton Adonis. Watfons heyre' was intended not for *Venus and Adonis* and Shakespeare as 'Watfons heyre,' but rather Richard Barnfield was 'Watson's heyre,' and *his Cynthia*, published also in 1595, the suggester of 'Wanton Adonis'—both *Venus* and *Adonis* occurring and recurring in it, and indeed in most of his longer poems. But as noted in the places, 'sweet' is used very uncritically by W. C. throughout.

Our Notes and Illustrations — appended at close of the volume—will guide to other tid-bits of names and allusions and specially to the most noticeable appeal to Nash and Harvey (pp. 39-40); and so here I would only remark generally that in this *England's Address* will be found — as put into our title-page — glimpses of 'Elizabethan England' in 'gentle life' or among the well-born and cultured of the Universities and Inns of Court. As such, it ought long since to have been recalled to access and memory. For more on details I must refer the student-reader to Notes and Illustrations, as just intimated.

Kindred with *England's Address*, though some years earlier, viz., 1587, is the following extremely rare book :

SIVQILA.

Too Good, to be true :

OMEN.

*Though so at a vewe,  
Yet all that I tolde you,  
Is true, I vpholde you:  
Now cease to aske why?  
For I can not lye.*

Herein is shewed by way of Dialogue,  
the wonderfull maners of the people of  
Mauqfun, with other talke  
not friuolous.

*Scene and allowed according to the  
order appointed.*

Imprinted at London by Abel Ieffs,  
dwelling in the fore street without Creplegate  
at the signe of the Bell.  
1587.

As this work seems to be utterly unknown even to Bibliographers, it is thought expedient to make full quotations from it, commencing with the Epistle-dedicatory to Hatton and so going forward, as follows :



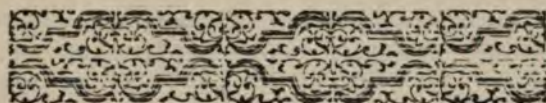
To the Right Honorable, Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight,  
Capteine of hir Maiesties Garde, Vicechamberlaine to  
hir highnesse, and one of hir Maiesties most honourable  
priuy Counsaile.

ALTHOUGH I CAN not (right Honourable) procure my Countries commoditie as I would, for that my power is not to my pretence, my might to my meaning, nor my ability to my industry: yet I can not choose but vtter my good will, in shewing what I wishe to the same. But because I would not be thought to counsell others, that haue more neede my selfe to be thought to set forth orders for others that ought rather to be guided: & to direct others that are more meete to be led: therefore what I haue written to that end, is none other thing than that which now is obeied, & most diligently followed throughout that most euill countrey called Mangsun. The like thereof is not elsewhere so vnusually practised. And though the things thereof written, will be hardly credited (but more faintly followed) for that they are so rare and strange, and in such an vknownne place: yet they are not to be reiected as false, considering it is harder for the reporter thereof to tell a lye, than for a common liar to tell a true tale, which must needs be granted, if his name called *Omen*, and the name of his Countrey called *Mangsun*, (before mentioned) be aduisedly marked and considered, especially *Omen's* contrived. And now, for that the marvellous maners, the honest behaviour, the faithfull friendship, the courteous conditions, the commendable customes, the plaine meaning and true dealing, the Ladies liberalitie, the Ladies great courtesie, the husbands fidelitie, the wiues obedience, the maydens modestie, the masters sobrietie, the seruants diligence, the Magistrates affabilitie, the Iudges equitie, the commons amitie, the preferring of publique commoditie, the generall hospitalitie, the exceeding mercie, the wonderfull charitie, and the constant Christianitie of that Countrey is such: I hope the honest affectioned will hereby take no small pleasure and profite. Not ignorant, that there are not a few of another secte, that loath they ought to loue: disdaine they ought to desire: deere at that they ought rather to fauour: and discommende that they cannot amende. Which if euery Writer should haue weyed, many good things had lye hid, that nowe are vttered: great knowledge would haue bene kept cloie, that now is discovered: and many profitable things vknownen, that nowe is practised. And therefore, as they respected rather to pleasure some honestly, than to pleasure many foolishly: so I meane hereby rather to content the well minded with things commendable, than to flatter foolles with vnnecessarie matter. Trusting your Honour will rather weigh my good will and zeale, than my rude rashnesse: in that I presume to present vnto you such a simple gift. Comforted herewith, that seeing the Persian Prince was content to accept a poore mans handfull of water (which

had no better thing to giue him) I hope your Honour will take in good part this handfull of paper, not without something in it, which is the best thing nowe I am able to giue you. And though this is not the first booke that hath bene dedicated vnto you: yet your Honour is the first man to whome I haue dedicated any. Whole wisdome hath willed me, whose modestie hath moued me, whose clemencie hath encouraged me, whose loue to learning hath allured me, and whose common commendations hath enticed me to offer it vnto you. Thinking my selfe happily recompēst, if you receiue it but halfe as thankfully and willingly. Thus omitting any further herein to trouble your Honour, desires God earnestly to guide you in goodnesse, to defende you from dangers, to fence you from foes, to lende you long life, and to bring you to blisse.

Your Honors most obedient  
to commande.

THOMAS LVPTON.



*The Preface to the Reader.*

As I haue published this (gentle Reader) to pleasure and profite many, so I wish the meaning thereof not to be hidde from any, which though I haue described at large in my former Epistle, yet for that I thinke many will not reade the same (as I wish they would,) herein I haue displayed the estate and discourse thereof, which is, that one SIVQILA, a man that liued godly, loued honestie, and esteemed equitie, was so wearie with the wickednesse, naughtinesse, fashode, and other great enormities of his owne Countrey, that he trauelled to finde out a Countrey and people that were agreable to his owne affection. Who, at the last, when he had trauelled thorowout the whole worlde, as he thought, chanced to meete with one whose name was OMEN, dwelling in a Countrey there called MAVQSVN: wherein, as he said, generally be such blessed Bishops, such perfect Preachers, such vertuous Ministers, such godly Gouvernours, such mercifull Magistrates, such iust Iudges, such worthy Laws, such charitable Lawyers, such honest Attorneis, such pitifull Physicians, such friendly Surgeons, such liberall Lordes, such lowlie Ladies, such gentle Gentlemen, such loving Husbantes, such obedient Wiues, such humble Children, such modest Maydes, such Seruants, such good and paine Dealing, such Hospitalitye, such wonderfull Charitie, such practizing of Godlinesse, and such struing to Doe well, that the same SIVQILA did wonder at it, saying, It is Too GOOD TO BE TRUE: whereof this Booke hath his title, which if the Discourse thereof be well marked, I doubt not but that it will like the Godlie, please the Honest, and warne the Wicked. And therefore, as I haue taken long paynes in framing it, so I beseech thee take a little paynes to reade it thorowly, which is all that I wish. And thus I end.

THOMAS LVPTON.

Turning back on the title-page and these Epistles of this hitherto overlooked book of the class of SIR THOMAS MORE'S *Utopia* and Bacon's *Atlantica* and Bishop Hall's *Mundus*, it is to be noted that *Omen* is = Nemo, *i.e.*, nobody, and Mauqfyn = Nusquam, *i.e.*, nowhere, while the 'Countrey' that Sivqila finds too evil to stay in is shown early to be England, as will be seen immediately.

The whole drift of the Author, accordingly, is to picture an 'ideal' Country in contrast with the degenerate and wicked 'Anglia' of the period. This he does by putting into the mouth of Sivqila successive questions to Omen on the various persons and things named in the 'Preface to the Reader,' with the invariable result that whatever happens to be mentioned is 'perfect' in 'Mavqfyn' and evil in 'Ailgna,' save that now and again exceptions are made of good individuals in the several classes. The 'dialogue' is 'slow' and the narrative extremely tedious and the illustrative 'stories' spun out long after the material is exhausted. Nevertheless there are capital *hits* at the 'besetting sins' of this early Elizabethan period. 'Sivqila' found out that he could not possibly be admitted into 'Mavqfyn,' but Omen was willing to answer all his enquiries; and so the 'Dialogue' proceeds.

The book thus opens: "*Omen*. I meruaile what fellowe this is that commes towards me thus speedily: he thinkes belike to haue some succour here, but he is much deceiued, for wee neuer goe to trouble any: neither anie shal trouble vs. What art thou firra? what is thy name? from whence doest thou come? and what wouldest thou haue? *Sivqila*. O sir, I am come from the furthest parts of the worlde I thinke, there is no place nor Countrey but I haue bin in it I beleue, (except this where your dwel): my name is Siuqila, a sinner I confesse, but one that feares God, loues his worde, esteemes equitie, and abhors wickednes: my chiefe desire is to finde out a Countrey and people, as are altogether affectioned as I am. *Omen*. You may goe round about the



whole worlde, and thorowe and thorowe it againe, ere you shal find the least village (much lesse a whole Countrey) of such as you name your selfe to be: I pray you of what Countrey are you? *Siuqila*. Forsooth I was borne in a famous and most fertile Iland called *Ailgna*. *Omen*. If I doe not mistake it, there are some of your Countremē, that would haue rapt out halfe a dozen oathes, in a great deale lesse talke then you haue vttered. *Siuqila*. That is true, God amend it, which vice with manie other, too commonlie frequented, was the chiefe occasion of my comming from thence." *Siuqila* tells how 'abused' and disappointed he had been in his vain 'trauels,' but on *Omen*'s describing generally his 'Mavqsvn,' he exclaims—'Wel, though my trauaile hath bene troublesome, painefull and dangerous, yet I repent not my iorney: for now I hope I haue found the place that will please me: I pray you let vs make haft, I think long vntil I be in it." To this—as already intimated—there is a dead refusal, as thus:

*Omen*. You were best to knowe first, whether you shal bee welcome thether or not.

*Siuqila*. I trust I shal behaue my selfe in such order, that none shal mislike me.

*Omen*. Wel, to be plaine, you cannot come there, for wee keep none but such as are borne and bred in our own Countrey, therefore no Straunger can dwell with us, for if they should, we should rather learne their vices then they followe our vertues.

*Siuqila*. As you are to be praised for keeping away the wicked, so are you to be misliked for refusing the godlie: for you could learne of them no harme, but goodnesse.

*Omen*. Speake better then we they may, but offend so little as wee they cannot. And yet if we should receiue any beeing neuer so godly and honest: would all the brood they breed be so godly as they? no, not so, for the godliest fathers in the old time, have had godlesse children.

*Siuqila*. I cannot denie that: but if you would be so good vnto me, as to suffer me a while to remaine in your Countrey, I would (by God's help) liue in such order, that I wold not encrease your number.

*Omen*. Are you not flesh and bloud? are you not a sinner?

*Siuqila*. Yes truly that I am, or else I were a lyer.

*Omen*. Then we wil not trust you, nor put it in prooffe: as godly men as you have broken as greate promises as that: Therefore set your hart at rest, you may not come there nor you shall not come there.



Hearbes, Weedes, trees, and plantes, the like flowers, leaves, stalkes, rootes, fruite, colour, smell, taste, vertue, and qualities, that they had the last yeare? and haue alwaies had since their first creation?" (p. 23.) The chief occupation of the majority are summarily classified as "Bearbaitings, Bulbaytings, Players, Vauters, and Tumblers." (p. 27.) Siuqila adds, however, "Some with vs, whose parentes feare God, are brought vp in the same order (thankes be to God). But truely the most of our youth, especially the poorer sort, are so tidlingly, fondly, wantonly, and idely brought vp, that it is a grieffe to the godly." (p. 37.)

The national 'Drunkenness' presents a manifold subject for "doctrine, reproof, correction, instruction in rigeteousness"; and one gird remains as true to-day as then — "If thou shouldest be constrained to giue the fourth part for the defence of your Countrey, of that which thou spendest in one yeere to shorten thy life, or to kill thyselfe, thou wouldest thinke thou were vndone." (p. 56.) The profanation of the Sabbath seems to have most of all 'griued' the good Siuqila, as thus: "I woulde to God they did bestowe the Sabbath daye so well with vs. I thinke verilye, if any day be more profaned with vs then other, it is the Sabbath daye, that God hath appointed to bee kept most holye. For I doubt manye doe come to the Church that daye more to pryde then to praye: more to looke then to learne: more to shew themselues then to shunne sinne: more to marke others then to amend themselues: more for custome then conscience, and more to heare a fine Preaching then to followe the godlye teaching. And if manye of them doe thus, that come to the Church, what may be thought of them that come not to the Church? Many are constrained to labour for their liuing in the week day, whereby they auoid idlenesse the mother of mischief, whereof many I feare, though they are not idle on the Sabboth day, they are not wel occupied. For that day they giue themselues to Drinking, Dicing, Dancing, Swearing, chaffing, Playing, Bowling, Beare-bait-

ing, & to other vanities." (pp. 73-4) Now and again there are odd *bits* of story-telling as this of the Devil — "*Sinquila*. It was credibly reported, that a lustie ladde with vs, (a solemne swearer) loofing his money at Dice, had blasphemed God with many terrible othes, faying: If I had the Diuell here, I would eate him: who had no sooner spoke these words, but a Spider (or else the Diuel in the likenesse of a Spider) came down ouer his mouth: which, as soone as he sawe, he snatcht into his mouth, and so died presently. *Omen*. A fearefull example, and enough (me thinkes) to make euery one ceafe from swearing. If it were a Spider, then it was sufficient to destroy his bodie: but if it were the Diuell, it was enough to destroy him and a thousand such, both bodie and foule." (p. 77.)

Omen as against 'Dicing,' and 'Gambling,' upholds 'Exercise of the higher fort,' as 'Chess,' which he goes on to set forth as "the Astronomer's game & the Philosopher's game, which wettes their wittes, reuertes their minds, and hurts no body in the meane season." (p. 93.)

The 'Lawyers' of 'Mavqſvn' are the very embodiments of justice and mercy. Not so those of Ailgna, *e.g.*, "Our Courtes are so costly, the fees so greate, the expences so much, the delayses so many, the trauayle so farre, the triall so long, and the obtaining so doubtfull: that poore men can not, nor many wise men dare not beginne or prosecute the lawe. They had rather take halfe before they begin the lawe, than to lay out their money in hope to haue all at the end of the lawe. Our lawe with vs passes building, which building is found to be such a priuie theefe, that many vn-wife builders haue bin much impouerished thereby: For looke, what many thinkes will frame vp the whole, will scantly finish the halfe. Yet are they sure to haue halfe a house for their money: and if they bestowe so much more they are certaine to haue a house. But he that goeth to the lawe with vs, for the obtaining of his right (as he thinks) and makes an accounte that twenty pounce wil try his



matter to the end: it may chance cost him an hundreth pounce, yea and fel al the houses, lands, and living he hath, and yet goe without that he sues for" (pp. 115-16).

The 'Physicians' and 'Surgeons,' especially the 'Stipend-arie Surgeons' of the Hospitals, have a sad name in Ailgna. They are represented as greedy, grasping, careless, cruel. One terrible story of a poor man, with a 'sore arme,' in one of the Hospitals, with the as terrible exposure, detection, and punishment of the offending Surgeon, makes one shudder to-day (pp. 126-133). Here is a quaint portion of the dialogue on the physicians and surgeons:

*Siugila.* . . . It is possible they wil be forie if they come late to a rich man, but as for a poore man, they thinke they may tarrie their leysure wel enough. If our Surgeons should do as your Surgeons do, they would thinke that they should not be able to find themselves and their famely.

*Omen.* Though they thinke so, yet ours thinke not so, for our Surgeons beleeue verily, that God prospers them the better, and makes them the richer, because they are so ready to come and releue the poore.

*Siugila.* Though it be so in deede, yet it is hard to beate that into our Surgeons heades. They had rather haue one birde in their own hand then two in an other mans hand.

*Omen.* But our Surgeons had rather haue one bird in Gods hand then two in their own: for they thinke that the one bird that is in Gods hande, is better then two birdes in their owne hand. And that one bird in Gods hand will bring forth more encrease than twentie such birds as theirs will do, which they haue in their owne hand. (pp. 121-2.)

The 'Marchants' and money-lenders and borrowers are pungently handled. 'Usury' must have been an infinite oppression in those days. 'Ingratitude' (*i.e.*, 'ingrate' persons) receives vehement rebuke, and a long-drawn-out but effective story and judgment enforces it. Finally—How extremely 'ideal' Mauqfun is, may appear from the following full quotation:

*Omen.* It woulde reioyce any Godly mans heart to see how the rich with vs bestowes their time and their goods.

*Siugila.* I pray you, sir, how is that?

*Omen.* Forfooth as soone as they are vp, which is very early, they goe to visit ther poore neighbours houses, & most gently, louingly, & willingly, they giue them mony to relieue them withal, according to their necessitie, and their owne abilitie: and you shall see the riche mens wiues

and without their husbands' consent, cover their childrens apparel, sometimes before they be male women, and give the same to their poorer neighbours or else their childrens use: so that the rich with us are in great and miserable estate: that it is a very hard thing to have any person with us that wastes either meate, drinke, or sufficient clothes. If a poor body with us should chance to goe in the winter morning with a shewe, the first riche man or woman, I warrant you, that meete them will not onely weep for their going so coldly, but also will carry the poorer party home with them: and if they have but two garments, as they have not lightly above three, they will give them one of them, and bidde them put the same on to keepe them warme, saying: Brother, Christ bids us do as we would be done unto, therefore seeing I would have one to give me a garment if I were naked or were coldly clothed: even so I am willing to cloth thee with this my garment, to keepe thee from the colde.

*Synops.* Oh happy people, that have such charitable hearts: oh burning love, that fires the heart of their neighbours. Your poorer people were best to keepe themselves full with you, & not to come into our country to dwell, for if they should they might happe to stande quaking in the frost in a colde frostie weather all a whole day, without having any come or garment given them: yet though for thy riche folkes coming straight from a Serran, should see them, whereof some of them perhaps have sweete sypocritish garments of their owne at ye least, not once weeping at their want, nor heaving at their smart: thinking themselves to be pitiful enough, if they give them a penny: which haply they get not without a chocke or a tannet. I pray God some of them leave not their purses at home purposely, because they would give them nothing. For me thinks these hard hearted wretches, & these nicknamed Christians, the next time that they should looke on their great number of garded gownes, their costly cassocks, and their through furred garments, which are more than ever they will weare, considering they make newe daily for themselves (and all to follow the newe fashion) and especially when they see them moth eaten, shoulde tremble and quake for feare, at the terrible wordes of Saint James, which threatneth all such, (saying) 'Goe to now, ye rich men, weepe and howle on your wretchednesse that shal come vpon you: your riches is corrupt, your garments are moth eaten: your gold and your silver are cankered, & the rest of them shall be a witnesse vnto you, and shall eate your flesh as it were fire,' &c. But truly, their stonie hearts are so flintie hard, that neither these words, nor yet the most terrible threatnings in all the Scriptures besides, can penetrate any part thereof. (pp. 70-2.)

Summarily onward, we read:

*Synops.* Are all your Nobilitie of that humilitie you speake of?

*Omn.* What else? For as harde a thing to fynde with vs a haughtie

heart in the Nobilitie, a loftie looke in the Ladies, or a disdainefull countenance in the Gentlemen, or their wiues, as it is to finde a mecke minde in a froward woman, a chaft heart in a Harlot, or liberalitie in a niggard or Snudge. (p. 96.)

Besides the glimpses into the England of 1587, and before, this neglected quarto (pp. viii and 175) gives vivid insight into the condition of society as represented by 'Preachers' and 'Lawyers' and 'Merchants' and 'Physitions,' and all the others designated in the 'Preface to the Reader,' in contrast with the immaculate citizens of Mauqsun, and there are a number of noticeable words and phrases that I deem it well to place on record—seeing that I fear another will not readily be found to read through the somewhat trying old book in its quaint black letter type.

I take such things, more especially rare words, as I marked in reading from commencement to close :

1. '*Simoniacs.*' "I maruell why such are chofen, and put into that place:  
[the Church]  
Alas, they *counterfaite* themfelues, vtill they get in.  
And when they *uncounterfaite* themfelues againe, why are they not  
Thrust out." (pp. 10, 11.)
2. '*Vanity of fashions.*' "there is fuch exccffe of apparell, fuch gawdie going, and fuch *pecockly* and new fashions every day." (p. 20.)

Again :

- "Why should we that are earth, ashes and dust, pricke vp ourfelues fo *Peacockly*?" (p. 23.)
3. '*Pelte.*' "Truly our father Adam, which was Lord of ye whole earth, had but a leather *Pelte* to couer his nakednesse." (p. 21.)
4. '*Ful's pride.*' "So that they are proud of that that should make the aſhamed.  
Who woulde be proude of the ſheete he weares in doing his penance?" (p. 21.)
5. '*Green ſward.*' "What is it to ſowe ſeede vpon the graffe or *greene ſwarde* vnploughed or vndigged?" (p. 25.)
6. '*Hilling.*' "many of the ſaid rich greedy guttes, caring for nothing but for the *hilling* and filling their owne backe and bellie." (p. 28.)
7. '*Flang.*' "And ſo he *ſlung* away in a fume." (p. 41.)
8. '*Early form of 'out-faced.'*' "thy poore Father's complaint, thou wouldeſt . . . haue fedde with one fable or other, and ſo *faced out* thy poore Father before our face." (p. 44.)
9. '*Beaters of Husbands.*' "ſhe ſhall ride on a *coalſtaffe*." (p. 49.)





22. '*Deposed*' = *deponed* "I wil haue every one of you in this case *deposed*."  
... and so they were *deposed* and *sworne*." (p. 90.)
23. '*Trim*.' "Are not thy diuelish deuises come to a *trim* drift?" (p. 91.)
24. '*Lowels*.' "many lewde *lowels* looke loftily." (p. 96.)
25. '*Bribes*.' "belike you thought that my handes did so *tickle* to touch, that I would *wring* with the wrong." (p. 108.)
26. '*Fetch*.' "Which onely was the *fetche* to *fetche* you vnto me." (p. 109.)
27. '*Dayed*.' "There haue two prosecuted the law together for a Cocke or for a Goose, and they haue both bin almost vndone, and the matter vntried, whereby they haue bin enforced, when all their money was confumed and spent, to haue their matter *dayed* and ended by arbitrement." (p. 115.)

Again :

- "They had bin better to haue eaten the Cocke or the Goose betweene them at the first, than to spend all the money and put it to *dayment* at last." (*ibid.*)
28. '*Cobs*.' (?) I knew two rich *Cobs* that went to the lawe for the triall of a matter." . . . (p. 117.)
29. '*Lament*.' "what paines he hath put me to ever since, both night and day it would lament you if you knew it." (p. 129.)
30. '*Starting holes*.' "if we had this lawe, and well executed, the Usurers durst not trust to their *starting holes* as they doe." (p. 147.)
31. '*Bird-lore and ingratitude*.' "Beholde a little Birde shall make thee ashamed. But how canst thou be ashamed? for I thinke thou hast no shame at all. The little Marlin will not praye on the last Birde that she catcheth at night, but holdes her in her tallents, all night, without hurting her, onely to keepe her selfe the warmer, and then in the morning she letteth her goe: which Marlin aduisedly marking which way the same Birde doth flye, will not flye toward that quarter of all that day for her praye, least she should hap to catche her and so hurt her that had done her good, pinch her that had pleased her, and kill her that had comforted her. This little Birde against her will hath pleased the Marlin, and yet the Marlin is thankfull for it." (p. 159.)
32. '*Beparched*.' "in Africa, being *beparched* with the heate of the Sunne." (p. 160.)
33. '*Great Professional men not Authors in England*.' "It is with us quite contrary, for they that hope to attaine to any great office, beare any rule, or come to any preferment, thinke scorne (though they are able) to penne or publish any Bookes (though the matter be neuer so good, necessarie or honest) and wherefore thinke you? forsooth because most peruersely and peeuihly they should be therefore of the higher sorte disdained, of their equals dispraised, of their inferiors derided, of the profited thereby not thanked, and of some they cannot amend it detracted. So that (but what reason is in it I knowe not) the most part with vs think it as vnseemely, for one that is in authoritie, or beares

that it would not be my wonder as it is for a Peeler to preach.  
 But I am content as a necessity that I am.  
 32. *Depart, depart, the most is our time when we in greenie and comeliness,  
 that they will depart with none of their graces during their life.*  
 33-34.

It was probably with reference to Lupton's book that CHARLES GERRARD excited me of his always extremely heavy and wearying-out moral-religious trinites. "Not so new, as True. Being a verie necessarie Casent for all Christians to consider of. Wherin is traelle described the iniquitie of this present time, by occasion of our confused living: And howe approved the world to be neuer worfe, by reason of our contagious leaches. 1590." (420.) It too is "A Dialogicall discourse concerning the course of this world. The Speakers be. Alphons and Nicanor." I have 'searched' almost in vain for so much as a single quotable *bit* above the dead level of pious commonplace. These so-so Lines fill a vacant page, and for Elizabeth's sake and an odd use of the word 'teen,' may be here recalled from their oblivion:

O Lord

E nlarge the life of our good Queene,  
 L et nothing turne vnto her teene :  
 I ncrease thy graces in her still,  
 S o that she may performe thy will :  
 A duance thy word, augment our ioyes,  
 B y beating downe all Popish toyes.  
 E xpell her foes, preuent their lust,  
 T hat they may know her cause is iust.  
 H elpe those that call vpon thy name  
 A nd scourge the rest vnto their shame.  
 R emit our sinnes with our defarts,  
 E ngraued thy lawes within our hearts :  
 G rant vs thy grace to fructifie  
 I n all good deedes continuallie :  
 N o doubt our end is imminent,  
 A nd therefore let vs all repent.  
 So be it.

As a pendant to this take an incidental tribute to the great queen, thus :

"As for your conclusion, concerning the sufferance of such as haue libertie to doo well, and will not : Truelie such is the good pitie of our Prince, that where heretofore some haue burned such as were godlie, for a good cause : she beares with such as bee vnreformed, for a further consideration : not tendering their case to their confusion ; but intending a care of their conuersion, staying oftentimes where she might strike, in hope of amendment ; yet striking sometime where she must needes for feare of a mischief. (Oh Princely patterne of patience, oh worthie mirror of mercie) : Remembring alwaies to set good against euill, to beare with the weake, and to forbear the froward a while, as vncertaine in what howre God may call such into his vineyard." (p. 8.)

Here is a favourable specimen of the style of Gibbon :

"To conclude, is it not possible for both to accompanie but they shall alter condition ? Why, the filth of the dunghill cannot infect the cleare Sunne, and yet it shines vpon it ; the tartnes of the lees doth not take away the tast of the wine, yet both in a caske ; the sharpnes of the pricke doth not hinder the fauour of the Rose, yet both on a stalk ; the filthines of the ground cannot take away the fine[n]es of the gold, yet both be together ; neither can the vilenes of poyson impair the vertue of the stone, yet both in the toade. Thus much I thought good to deliver, because you make it so scrupulous for the good and bad to be together, whereas all things considered, it is rather commodious than dangerous ; or if not profitable, yet nothing pernicious." (p. 11.)

Another manners-painting book published the year after Lupton's is the following—"The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Foote-steps of Fraunce. Wherein is explained, the wilfull blindness of subtil mischief, the Striuing for Starres, the catching of Mooneshine : and the secrete sounde of many hollowe heartes, by W. R. *Nulla pretas prauis*. At London, Imprinted by Robert Robinson dwelling in Peter Lane neere Holborne. 1588." (4to.)

I have rarely been more disappointed with any early English book than this. Its style is unformed and uncritical, with an irritating alliteration and a miserable suggestion of Euphuus, most unhappy. The Author's *motif* was good, viz., to write down Englishmen's all-too-ready adoption of anything and everything 'foreign,' but his performance is lame and helpless. Its only value is in its reflection of the transition-state of England, the uncertainty of native 'fashions,' customs, habits, even speech, until confirmed by Italian or French. I have noted these few slight things in *The English Ape* :

rule, to publish and [= an] worke, as it is for a Peller to preach.  
But I am cleane of a contrary mind. (p. 166.)

- 34 '*Depart*.' *part*. "the most of our riche men are so greedie and covetous,  
that they will *depart* with none of their goods during their life." (p. 173.)

It was probably with reference to Lupton's book that CHARLES GIBBON entitled one of his always extremely heavy and wearing-out moral-religious tractates, "Not so new, as True. Being a verie necessarie Caueat for all Christians to consider of. Wherein is truelie described the iniquitie of this present time, by occasion of our confused living: And iustlie approued the world to be neuer worfe, by reason of our contagious leaudnes. 1590." (4to.) It too is "A Dialogicall discourse concerning the course of this world. The Speakers be, Alpheus and Nicanor." I have 'searched' (almost) in vain for so much as a single quotable *line* above the dead level of pious commonplace. These so so lines fill a vacant page, and for Elizabeth's sake and an odd use of the word 'teen,' may be here recalled from their oblivion:

O Lord

Enlarge the life of our good Queene,  
Let nothing turne unto her teene:  
Increase thy graces in her still,  
So that she may perseuere thy will:  
A charge be thy word, augment our joyes,  
By teaching to use all thy graces.  
Ere' they be lost, prevent their hurt,  
That they may know her cause is just.  
Help those that call vpon thy name  
And charge the rest vnto their shame.  
Keep thou vnto us all our desires,  
Ere' the diuill exiles our hearts:  
Grow vs the grace to trust thee  
In all good deedes concerning thee:  
And doubt our end is discontent,  
And therefore let vs still remember  
To be true.

As a pendant to this ode an incidental tribute to the great  
queen, the

"As for your conclusion, concerning the sufferance of such as haue libertie to doo well, and will not : Truelie such is the good pitie of our Prince, that where heretofore some haue burned such as were godlie, for a good cause : she beares with such as bee vnreformed, for a further consideration : not tendering their case to their confusion ; but intending a care of their conuersion, staying oftentimes where she might strike, in hope of amendment ; yet striking sometime where she must needs for feare of a mischief. (Oh Princely patterne of patience, oh worthie mirror of mercie) : Remembring alwaies to set good against euill, to beare with the weake, and to forbear the froward a while, as vn-certaine in what howre God may call such into his vineyard." (p. 8.)

Here is a favourable specimen of the style of Gibbon :

"To conclude, is it not possible for both to accompanie but they shall alter condition? Why, the filth of the dunghill cannot infect the cleare Sunne, and yet it shines vpon it ; the tartnes of the lees doth not take away the tast of the wine, yet both in a caske ; the sharpnes of the pricke doth not hinder the fauour of the Rose, yet both on a stalk ; the filthines of the ground cannot take away the fine[n]es of the gold, yet both be together ; neither can the vilenes of poyson impaire the vertue of the stone, yet both in the toade. Thus much I thought good to deliver, becau'se you make it so scrupulous for the good and bad to be together, whereas all things considered, it is rather commodious than dangerous ;, or if not profitable, yet nothing pernicious." (p. 11.)

Another manners-painting book published the year after Lupton's is the following—"The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Foote-steps of Fraunce. Wherein is explained, the wilfull blindnesse of subtile mischief, the Striuing for Starres, the catching of Mooneshine : and the secrete founde of many hollowe heartes, by W. R. *Nulla pretas prauis*. At London, Imprinted by Robert Robinfon dwelling in Feter Lane neere Holborne. 1588." (4to.)

I have rarely been more disappointed with any early English book than this. Its style is unformed and uncritical, with an irritating alliteration and a miserable suggestion of Euphues, most unhappy. The Author's *motif* was good, viz., to write down Englishmen's all-too-ready adoption of anything and everything 'foreign,' but his performance is lame and helpless. Its only value is in its reflection of the transition-state of England, the uncertainty of native 'fashions,' customs, habits, even speech, until confirmed by Italian or French. I have noted these few slight things in *The English Ape* :

1. '*Books*.' "Alphonsus being asked what Counsellors he liked best: answered *Bookes*, for they neither flatter in security, sooth with subtilty, contend in time of Controvercie, grudge at Superiours, nor contemne Inferiours. To confirme which, sayth *Cicero*: Oh pleasant bookes, Oh harmeles bookes, the harbourers of forsaken Vertue, and the fosterers of Morall demerits."—Epistle-dedictory to Lord Chancellor Hatton.
2. We have a phrase thus early which is utilised in one of our reproductions in the present Series—"grue me leane to aske where our English men first learned their *Choyse of Change*, in what Countrey they have ever behelde the phantasticall fashions vsed and their owne intentions neglected." (p. 5.)
3. '*Relinced*.' "hee [*Clodius*] would grue vnto his friends that supped with him pearls *relinced* in vineger to eate." (p. 7.)
4. '*Starts up*.' "heue downe each *Starts up* flennie." (p. 11.)
5. '*Minerresse* (?)'. "England whole perfection hath bin of late purified by the means of a cunning *Minerresse*, and the metall purged from the Mofse drosse that had almost oorgrowne the fertility of that pleasant foyle) doth not naturally afforde the straungenes of these strange confusions, whose perfections like a celestiall Lampe doth illustrate all Christendome." (pp. 15 6.)
6. '*The Englishman*.' "If the Germaune that paynted eury Nation in his naturall forme, (as farre as arte coulde reache) and made the Englyshe naked, because hee knew not of what guise to make the changeable variety of his attyre: lyued nowe as sometimes he did, I imagine that hee would paynte the disguised forme of many of our women without skinner, for that (in derision of Nature to scoffe their Creator) they finde out artificall skinner to couer any accidentall blemishe of their Faces. A derogatory fr m the honor of God, and abrogating impudent shame to the modest Sexe." (p. 23.)
7. '*Englishwomen*.' "Whence proceedeth I pray theie gadding seagaries of our English dames but from their decking with vnspcakable pride." (p. 24.)
8. "*Finabith, that bright and illustrate Lampe*." "But as the viewe of their secret poyson causeth me to milike the one, so the bright shew of shyning vertue, in ducty compelles me to commend the other. Of which sorte there is one as the *Phoenix*, endeleffe in glory, and matchlesse in mortal maiefty: At whose illustrate Lampe may our foolish virgins borrow oyle, & by her light direct the course of their life, thither, where her name is already eternized, to beare a light before the holy lambe: But mighty Iehoua let thy seruant yet liue till thee guke to thy tabernacle, her flock of Israell. Stand still her candle-sticke, and lighten all the earth, that when she goes, wee may for company sing *Alleluys* to thy maiefty." (p. 26.)

I

At the initials 'W. R.' have been  
the Huth exemplar the Epistle-



dedicatory has a contemporary filling in of the name, but it has been partially erased, and I can only half-guessingly make out W. R[eoly] as though an attempt at Raleigh! In this Epistle the author thus refers to another work of his which had also been dedicated to Hatton—"remembering your honorable acceptance of my rough cast Conceite of HELL, vnloading complaint, and loading your eares with many friuolous phrafes." (p. 2.)

II. A QUEST OF ENQUIRIE . . . . . 1595 (see full title on page 143.)

Of the authorship of this *unique* book absolutely nothing has been transmitted to us. It is quite a contrast with *England's Address*, but just because of that seems to the Editor of *quick* interest for its similar presentation of the 'simple' or vulgar aspects of 'the commonalty.' Regarded broadly, it reminds us how very small our now great London then was and how provincial in its tone, when such a 'quarrell' and 'quest' could so excite the community and inspire (as it would seem) abundant 'ballads' and keen passion all round. As with the other, in Notes and Illustrations, certain 'noticeable things' are guided to and annotated.

With respect to *Polimanteia*, the most voracious Reader will agree that the opening and close are ample specimens of the treatise-proper, which is a tedious and weak discourse of 'divination' and all kind of credulities and nullities. It should have over-weighted the 'Address' of England to her 'Three Daughters' to have reproduced so wearisome a book *in extenso*. With reference to the Latin verses prefixed to *Polimanteia* (p. 7), they may thus 'speak English':

Flood, earthquake, pestilence on all sides, dearth,  
Wars — what remains for ruin of the earth?  
Fire! now far off — whence? from Jove's ramparts high.  
What piles such ills on Earth? Impiety.  
Still is there hope of safety? Only one.  
Who gives it? Piety? Who owns her? None.

To hell, O Earth, since Piety is not.  
I see her rush — by injured gods forgot.

---

If nought thou buildest, why this house dost eye?  
Blame not, or raise a better one on high.  
A better hast thou, then, from both, we'll pray  
That Envy turn her evil eye away.

---

O toil, O sweat, prize of a cursed bite  
Earth from the fates hide thy sins out of sight.

---

Not all things, nor all men please me —  
To all then must I pleasing be?  
Not the old man of Cos suits all  
Nor does this privilege befall  
The Stagiraite. Then wouldst thou fain  
Hope the goodwill of all to gain?  
Traveller, to please thy God take care  
And on thy way contented fare!

One queries whether by 'Cous senex' he meant Homer—confounding Cos with Chios—and so, "Not even Homer pleases all," or Apelles the painter, a Coan—and so, "Not e'en Apelles pleases all"? Probably the former. I just notice that I have allowed the misprint 'Spagirus' for 'Stagirus' to pass. In the couplet on 'Labor' the original certainly has 'satis' (= in the cornfields), but as that makes a wrong quantity (sātīs) 'fatis' is preferable, as in the translation.

For the use of his *unique* exemplar of the *Quest of Enquirie*, I am indebted to my ever-obliging friend ALFRED H. HUTH, Esq.; of *Polimanteia*, I myself possess a very fine copy. Three others seem to be known.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

*St. George's Vestry,  
Blackburn, Lancashire,  
23rd May, 1881.*



[Commencement of 'Polimanteia.']

## POLIMANTEIA.



Efore we come particularlie to speake of *Diuinations* lawfull & vnlawfull; for the true and better vnderstanding of them, we will first define, what *Diuination* is: *What Diuination is.* *Diuination is a foretelling of things to come, performing it in diuers manners, as well artificially, as naturally.* But those that more curiously subtilize vpon the Etymologie, say, that to diuine is properly to foretell, and to foresee things to come, by an exterior motion, without hauing any subiect, cause, or signe before hand to coniecture so; and therefore in this fort, God testifieth of himselfe, that he alone knoweth things to come, which afterward he reueiled by his Prophets

B

and



*Polimanteia.*

to conclude, a most perfect malice accompanied with a perpetuall hate a-<sup>Satan a per-</sup>gainst mankinde: and the rather, seeing<sup>petuall ene-</sup> that it is not in his force, to doe any<sup>mic to man-</sup> thing of himselfe: to hinder the course of things naturall ordained by God: to destroy and to make againe: to sound the depth of mans heart: or to foresee how God gouerneth the<sup>the</sup> course of the world: the <sup>the</sup>affayres of Kings and Princes before the reuelation of his diuine propheties. Notwithstanding he perceiueth by his subtiltie the hid properties of things bodily and spirituall. His knowledge is exceeding by his manifold experience of things past: he diueth so farre as may possibly bee founded into mens maners; and copies out their actions, from whence he deriueth his greatest profit. Thus he incombers the actions of Kings & Princes of each in particular; that contrarie to all reason and opinion of men, they are all so intermedlingly inwrapped each in other states, that scarce anie knoweth

B 2

how

*Polimanteia.*

and Apostles, as it pleased him. Now  
*Satan Gods*  
*[Ape.]* Satan desiring in this to bee Gods Ape,  
(thereby the better to abuse the world,  
& to drowne men in intolerable super-  
stition, by a naturall curiositie to know  
things to come) hath iniurioullie and  
*Satan falsi-*  
*ly a Diviner.* falselie vsurped the same authoritie to  
diuine, and from thēce proceedeth the  
word *Diuination*: so that thereby Satan  
so much the more vnder a cloak of na-  
turall things, is for the most part as a  
forger and coūterfeiter (excepting the  
diuination whereupon the subiect of  
this matter depends:) and therefore it  
is necessarie to trie and examine in the  
first place, the might, subtiltie and craft  
of the diuell; in whom we shall finde as  
*The power of*  
*Satan.* great knowledge and vnderstanding,  
(excepting the Angels) as in all the o-  
ther creatures besides; wee shall finde  
as great subtiltie for interpreting the  
signes of diuers things: a matchles vigi-  
lancie: an incomparable cunning, to  
inuent trumperies; and deceit, vnder  
fine coloured, but false pretences: And  
to

*Polimanteia.*

in fine, quick & nimble subtiltie, which he vfeth to his owne aduantage. These *Spirits* know by the predictions of Prophets: that fuch Kings and Princes fhall come to gouerne: befides, by what meanes *Note.* they fhall attaine it, and by whom God will giue the Scepter into their hands: befides, when and how it fhall be taken from them. And in one word, Satan *Foretold.* knoweth the eftate of Gouvernement which muft happen, and how long it fhall endure, and the enemies which fhall rife vp for the ruine of it. From thefe & fuch like reuelations would they drawe their diuinations. They haue found out by the prophefies of *Daniel* the eftate & chaunge of Monarchies which muft happen, the ruine of *Darius*, the deftruction of *Afia*: and that the Monarchie of *Babylon* fhall be transported to the *Greekes*: By meanes whereof, when *Alexander* the Great confulted with the *Oracles* Oracle at *Delphos*, *Pythias* answered him, *Eris inuictus Alexander*: Thou fhalt be vnconquered *Alexander*. And after-

B 3

ward

*Polimanteia.*

*Satan's subtilty.*

*Satan as Ambassadors.*

*Satan known at the first time.*

ward for confirming, and giuing credit to his Oracle, he ceased not to shewe signes & wonders together with vaine illusions, in the behalfe of *Alexander*, which way soeuer he marched with his armie: on the contrarie not to daunt *Darius* too much, he nourisht in him a vaine hope by doubtfull dreames, perswading him fondly of victorie, against his enimie. For the temptations of Satan are of that fort, that they promise vs all ioy and happines whatsoeuer: but no sooner they are entertained of vs, but in their place commeth despayre, with a perpetuall torment. By the prophetic of *Daniel* and *Esai*, the diuell knewe that the Monarchie of the *Affyrrians* should be wholly desolate and giuen into the power of the *Medes* and *Perrians*, and that al this should be done by *Chus*. For this cause it was foretold, that King *Chus* should be chased and banished out of the kingdome of *Lydia*: And therefore knowing the might of King *Chus*, Satan ceased not to moue and incite

cite



*Polimanteia.*

cite *Cræsus*, by a bayte of ambition, to *Cræsus* con-  
oppose himfelfe againſt the *Perſian Cy-* <sup>quered.</sup>  
*rus*. This being done, the *Aſſyrians* Em-  
pyre was ſpoyled, *Cræsus* conquered,  
and the Monarchie tranſlated to *Cyrus*.

There is one eſpeciall example farre  
furpaſſing all that antiquitie mentio-  
neth of Satans ſubtiltie, whereby appa-  
rantly he ſhewed the intent and effect  
of his whole treacherie: It was that of  
the great contemplatiue diuine *Jam- Iamblich.*  
*blicke*, who deſirous to knowe the name  
of him that ſhould in the Empyre ſuc-  
ceede the Emperour *Valens* that then  
raigned, he made trial of it by a certain <sup>*A thing un-*</sup>  
fooliſh (be it ſpoken with reuerence to <sup>*lawfull.*</sup>  
ſo wife a man) and moſt vnlearned di-  
uination in this manner: He cauſed the  
Greeke Alphabet written to bee put by  
diſtinct letters, in the ground, and vpon  
euery one he placed a graine of Barley;  
in the miſt a Cock, & the letters where <sup>*A fooliſh*</sup>  
the Cocke ſcraped the Barley, ſhould <sup>*proofe.*</sup>  
ſignifie the thing he ſo much deſired.  
Now it happened that the Cock bared  
theſe

*Polimantia.*

0000.

*Divination  
will be a  
Tyranny.*

*Vnlike it  
should be.*

*Doubtfull  
answers ar-  
gue deceit,  
or ignorance.*

these foure letters: *Θ, Ε, Ο, Δ*: yet now like-  
wise he remained vncertain of the name  
which these letters should portend, to  
discerne whether it were *Theodosius*, or  
*Theodotus*, *Theodorus*, or *Theodectes*. The  
Emperour *Valens* seeing the euent of  
all this, & fearing some false play, made  
(*Herod* like) all such to be put to death,  
as those letters did point out. He com-  
maunded likewise, to search forth the  
*Diuine. Iamblicke*, fearing the crueltie of  
the Emperour, by reason of the fault  
which he had committed, (For it was not  
lawfull in *Rome* to enquire into the suc-  
cession of the Empyre during the life  
of the Emperour) poysoned himselfe.  
But we shall finde for the most part that  
the diuell the more to delude men by  
these diuinations, gaue his answers hid,  
darke, double, and doubtful, especia-  
lly when himselfe (which often happened)  
was vncertaine of the euent, being on-  
ly led by suspicious and sleight coniec-  
tures, without euidence of diuine re-  
uelation, (as appeared by the doubt of  
that

*Polimanteia.*

that name which those foure letters might portend :) for not knowing the trueth, he talketh by circumstances and darke signes, fometimes telling the trueth to gaine credit to his false lyes, *A Causat.* seeing by a malicious instinct he striveth to obscure the trueth, to the great dammage of mortall men. For his delight is in falshood, and his ioy is in our fall. That is the reason why hee vseth these doubtfull & vncertaine answers, to the intent to abuse men by his ridiculous apish mockeries, and finally to bring them by a certaine feare, and a sorrow of things to come, to most abominable wickednesse, in executing the self same euil, which before he had told vnto him, that inquired of it.

*Polimanteia.*

*[Conclusion of the treatise-proper.]*

*Numbers  
concerning.*

But concerning any certaintie, or true coniectures in numbers, either of yeares or such like, wherein Master *Bodin* & others are too curious, I let them passe as matter impertinent and things of too nice & nimble coniecture. Then by the difference of dreames, whereof wee haue spoken before, by the distinction of their kinds, likewise by the generall exposition of diuinations, lawfull and vnlawfull, it may be vnderstood and easily knowne, how to applie them to the alteration and chaunge of a Common-wealth. There be also other sorts of Diuinations besides these, but be

O 2

cause

*Polimanteia.*

cause they cannot serue to iudge of the  
change of states (by requiring a whole  
treatise themselves, & being most lear- *My L. Hen-*  
nedly handled of others) I haue deter- *ry Howard.*  
mined wholly to let them passe, as one-  
ly purposing to note out the principall  
and generall rules seruing for this pur-  
pose. But as of all the meanes and rules  
which haue been obserued from anti-  
quitie, to confirme the iudgment con-  
cerning the chaunge and fall of a Com-  
mon wealth, there is none necessarie, al- *No rule ne-*  
though God sometimes permit things *cessarie to*  
to fall out according to their naturall *iudge of the*  
course: therefore it becommeth vs like- *chaunge of a*  
wise to attend patiently the ende & the *Kingdome.*  
euents of all things, as God hath deter-  
mined in his immutable counsell, with-  
out presuming too farre, by too great  
a curiositie vnbecoming our blind and  
dull capacities. And although by rea-  
son of our weaknes wee cannot found  
the vnderstanding of the depth of those  
predictions, which GOD hath made,  
sometime by one meane, sometime by  
other;

## Præambulum

*For as much as*  
*we are*  
*aware*

that we notwithstanding we must  
not not make his forethoughts issuing to  
ourselves as if what must happen to  
the most to answer the image of his  
word not yet shown them as need-  
less and that but cannot make them  
in good but in the contrary wholly  
rely upon his mercy which is infinite  
towards them which repent in it and  
immanent time. Consider what we  
have observed by discourse of histo-  
ries and according to our capacities  
reaching imaginations in this kinde, law-  
full and unlawfull to the intent that by  
their difference it may bee the better  
indged what shall happen for the chang  
and rises of Common wealths, and of  
the estate of Realmes and Empires: not  
to the intent to set downe certaine rules  
whereby to divine generally of things  
to come against the might and autho-  
ritie of God, or to giue occasiō to some,  
to relye vpon superstitious and foolish  
vanities; but to the intent to iudge by  
things past, of thinges to come. and by

*The force of*  
*this whole*  
*tract.*

O 3 that

*Polimanteia.*

that which hath bin, of that which may  
bee, according to the naturall course  
appoynted vnto all things by God him-  
felfe.

ENG-







## ENGLAND TO HER THREE DAUGH-

*ters, Cambridge, Oxford, Innes  
of Court, and to all  
her Inhabitants.*



F from the depth of  
intyre affection, I take  
vpō me to deale more  
plainely, then your  
honorably augmen-  
ted dignities will well  
permit; or from too

fervent a loue, ouerweyingly valew you *Libertie of*  
at too high a rate, perfwade your selues *speech fits a*  
(if these be my faultes) that the name of *mother.*  
a mother hath a priueledge to excuse  
them both: and howfoeuer a mother  
to her daughters, might more fitly  
speake in secret and not hard, yet seeing  
my naked trueth desires not to shroude  
it

*England to her*

*A thing not  
possible*

*All Europe  
laurel to  
England for  
her singu-  
larity.*

it isle from my greatest enemy, I chal-  
lenge these kingdoms that have had  
children to be witness of my talke; and  
if either there be folly in me, for to loue  
so much or faith in you to deserue so  
little then let the blame be of too blind  
affection: and accuse you of not deser-  
uing, and so speedily from Fames book  
will I cancel out your praise, and recant  
my loue to a mothers shame. But if I  
(truly fortunate) have high cause to  
commend you, & *Europe* for your sake,  
hath greater cause to commend mee;  
then may I not lawfully with a mothers  
loue, shew the affection of a grandmo-  
ther, to commend your children? And  
although my reuenues are such, as I  
cannot giue you large patrimonies, yet  
from my mouth shall the whole world  
take notice to giue you eternal praises.  
The time was (and happie time may I  
say) when in the glorie of my age, in the  
prime of my youth, in the honor of my  
dayes, in the fame of my desert, in the  
multitude of my friends, I matched with

*Sige-*

*three Daughters.*

*Sigebertus* sometimes my louing husband; and howsoever my behauour was farre from lightnes, my manners from loosenes, and my modestie from the least suspect, yet I was taken in the corrupt mindes of some fewe, to be too familiar with *Cantabrus* the K. of *Spayne*, the supposed father of *Cambridge* my eldest daughter: but to excuse my selfe, (though there was no cause) I protest I was free from such adulterie, lawfullie married to *Sigebert*: by him was begotten my eldest daughter *Cambridge*: and the suspitiō only proceeded from this, that *Cantabrus* seeing me happie for so sweete a childe, was desirous to christen it, and calde it *Cambridge*, and after from *Athens* sent for some to nurse her. Then after *Sigebertus* death (sweete daughter sigh that he died so soone) (for legacies farre greater would he haue left thee) courted deuoutly, I matched at last (wearie of my widdowhood) with worthy *Alfred*: of him (sweet daughter *Oxford*) was thou borne: and howsoever  
P some

*Anno Dom.*  
630. *Cam-*  
*bridge foun-*  
*ded as some*  
*write.*

*Anno Dom.*  
800. *Oxford*  
*founded.*

*England to her*

*There is no  
doubt  
that* some franchises of concord have bin be-  
tween you two a thing vually incident  
to your sex: which of you might chal-  
lenge the first place: yet I must needs  
concede this. I lived long comforted on-  
ly with one childe; doubting I should  
have been aged and past childbearing,  
and then to my perpetuall comfort  
(sweete *Oxford*) was thou borne. And  
*Cambridge  
more ancient* howsoever thy elder sister may chal-  
lenge that she hath lived longer, yet cā-  
she not boast that either I have loued  
her better, or that she her selfe hath de-  
served to be loued better. More fruit-  
*Both admi-  
rable & in  
matchless* full *Oxford* hast thou bin; (neither here-  
in doe I cōmend thee) but more proud-  
ly icalous (*Cambridge*) of thy honor hast  
thou been; yet both of you so deare to  
me, so equally beloued, so worthily ac-  
counted of, so walled with priuiledges,  
so crowned with all kinde of honor, as  
both (vnequall to bee compared with  
each other) may in the highest tearmes  
bee preferred before the most famous,  
that *Europe* hath: thē striue not betwixt  
your

*three Daughters.*

your selues, but both be vnite together:  
ioyne hands, and if famous *Alexandria*, *Alexandria*  
that sometime liued with high honour, *not compa-*  
who now lieth buried in her own ashes, *table.*  
were flourishing, to make comparifon,  
let her knowe that within your walles,  
(howfoeuer you reuerēce hers for their  
age) are many as famous as *Athanasius*,  
many as full of learned varietie as *Cle-* *Doctors in*  
*mens*, and many farre more foundly re- *Cambridge*  
ligious then them both. Ioyne I say to- *& Oxford.*  
gether and striue both to grace your *The Innes of*  
youngest sifter (daughter frowne not *court.*  
that I tearme thee youngest :) (daugh-  
ters frowne not that I tearme her your  
sifter :) for although she cannot bragge  
of the same progenie, nor hath recei-  
ued fuch ample legacies from her de-  
ceased father, yet her beautie, her mo-  
deftie, her owne behaiour, hath mat-  
ched her with fuch noble families, as  
both of you may be intertained by her, *Both Uni-*  
& haue your children graced with her *uerfities*  
fauour: you are both growne into *stand in need*  
good yeares, grautie befits you. But she *of the Innes*  
*of court.*

P 2

is

### *three Daughters.*

must I say (though I heare otherwise) *Carefull of the Vniuersities.*  
that kindly, louingly, and wifely she re-  
specteth you, as her elder sisters. Nei-  
ther can it be, (howfoeuer perhaps shee  
might perfwade her selfe) that if I should  
liue to see you buried (O vnfortunate if  
I liue so long) that (sweete daughters)  
she alone could be sufficient to comfort  
me; nay my age and her youth, both so  
neerely depend vpon your welfare, as if  
either yee dye (which I dare not thinke  
of) or be offended with vs (which I will *The Innes of court not a-ble alone to furnish England with wifedom.*  
not suppose) thẽ defolate were our case,  
and both of vs like to be seene ruinous.  
Account of them then (daughter) as  
your elder sisters, and howfoeuer you  
are youthful and full of fauour, yet they  
are aged & full of honour: And though  
it be the part of a mother equally to re-  
spect you all three, yet at my husbands  
fute (hee liuing) I so bequeathed mine  
honour vnto them two, as the stay of *Uniuersities the stay of a land.*  
our house remaineth in them onely.  
Then I intreate thee (daughter) by the  
loue which thou bearest to mine inha-

P 3

bitants :

*England to her*

bitants: by the care which thou hast of thy owne safety: and lastly by the due-tie which thou owest to me thy mother, in all respects to fauour thy sisters honour: in all causes chiefly to intend their good: and to bind those with a sacred vowe, who are thy posteritie, to seeke their glorie whilst the world endureth. Stately *Greece*, who sometimes was famous ouer al the world, had long since beene buried in the eternall night of darke forgetfulnes, if her daughter *Athens* had not lincked her children in marriage, with the greatest families in all *Europe*: And renowned *Florence* (daughters giue mee leaue to aduance your petegree) (not halfe so nobly descended as you are) being begotten by *Silla* his fouldiers, a *Pagan*, borne in the dayes of infidelitie, had neuer been reputed as the flower of *Italie*, if laureat *Petrarch*, *Dantes*, *Accursius*, *Aretin*, and lastly the famous Duke had not made her indeard to the most renowned in all *Greece*. And *Padway* eternizing

*Athens.*

Ante adue-  
tum Christi  
90.

*Cyprus*  
*Melites.*

*Padway.*

*three Daughters.*

zing the riuer *Po*, had been long since in  
the middest of her distresses, rased out  
of famous memories, if *Rome* liue-ma-  
king *Liue* had not beene noted to de- *Liue*.  
scend from her. Then flourish (kinde  
daughters) all vnited in that manner,  
that the world may knowe your poste- *A happie*  
ritie to bee so linckt together, as that *Vnion*.  
my loue cannot bee greater to you all,  
then all the worlde may see that yours  
is amongst your selues: *Cambridge* thou  
once like the Queene of the *Amazons*,  
for my honour accepted the proude  
challenge of the *Roman* Champion; and *Campion*.  
thy children haue often since so vali-  
antly withstoode their learned foes, as  
*Rome* can neither aduance her *Bellar-* *Consulted by*  
*min*: *Louan* her *Stapleton*, (nay mine by *D. Whita-*  
right) *Rhemes* their margent: or the *Consulted by*  
proudest of them all, say, they haue da- *D. Fulke*.  
red mee, and I haue not answered: nay  
thy other sifter hath been so forward in  
that kinde, as the woundes shee made, *Humfrey*  
are not yet cured. And if at home any *Reinolds*.  
base pefant, not valewing thy worth,  
vpon



*England to her*

*Puritans.  
Politicks.  
Atheists.  
Law must  
cut the  
off.*

*A thing of  
ten done.*

*Your Towns-  
men.*

vpon presumption shall do you wrong,  
either hardly intreating your children,  
denying them their names of honour,  
defrauding them of their land: detract-  
ing from their fame; your youngest  
sister shal be so incensed with it, as hum-  
bling their pride, she shall cause them to  
repent their boldnes: and think daugh-  
ters, I intend not to see you want, for no  
sooner will I heare that you are distres-  
sed, but my nobilitie shall redresse your  
wrong; my citizens shall relieue your  
want; and my souldiers shall procure  
your peace. And for your scoulding  
neighbours, vouchsafe not daughters  
to contend with them; humble not my  
honour so lowe, as to mate it with such  
meane Knights. *Paris*, wife was thy *Ja-  
phets* progenie, who made thy *Sequan* to  
parte thy towne and thee. And great  
*Charles*, thou wert great in this, to fore-  
see an Vniuersitie and a towne, could  
not well agree: My youngest daughter  
it was thy case, to haue one of thy chil-  
dren vndeferuedly endangered by thy  
often

*three Daughters.*

often relieued neighbours. But as the *Lincolnes*  
excellencie of the object corrupts the *Inne by the*  
fence: and Lyons are neuer so furious, *Chancery*  
as at the sight of a red colour: nor the *lane.*  
Elephants so vnruely, as at the shew of  
the Mulberie; so my ignorant inhabi-  
tants are no where so rude, as placed so  
neare a funne: my Lyons are no where *Ly ons.*  
so furious, as seeing your scarlet gowns,  
nor my Elephants so vnruely, as tasting  
of your powrefull and poyson killing  
mulberies. I would exhort you in more  
ample tearmes, but that I knowe your  
patience, and control them in a sharper  
manner, but that I see their furie: betake  
your selues to more high atchieuemēts.  
Let your aged sit downe, and rest them *Honour your*  
in honours chayre; set your children to *Doctors.*  
write triumphing songs for their mo-  
thers victorie: shew your quick discer-  
ning eyesight in these deceiuing times.  
Let the world see, that amongst your  
children, wit hath fruitefully growne, in  
this vntimely, niggardly blasting age:  
wherein though blackemouthed enuie *Rayling*  
Q repine *Asses.*

*England to her*

*Young men  
should write  
and inure  
themselves  
in smaller  
matters.*

repine at euery choyce conceit, tearing it, either time or wit, or both idly employed, yet my true discernement and a mothers loue, makes mee tearme them natures works, made with a comparing pride, in these latter times to shew their excellencie: Yet follow not so farre the conceited imitation of former time, to take trifles for subiectes to work vpon, as therein meaning to make art wondered at that worke of nothing. Thoufands of obiects might bee found out, wherein your high spirited muse might flie an vnmatched pitch, & Phoenix-like fire her selfe into immortall ashes by the Sunne. So onely without compare, eternallie should you liue: for in your children shall the loue-writing muse of diuine *Sydneay*, and the pure flowing streame of Chrystallin *Spenser* furuiue onely: write then of *Elisas* raigne, a taske onely meete for so rare a pen: it is easie to giue immortalitie to an euer-liuing Empreffe: or if this bee matter, which the basenes of these  
worth-

*A fit taske  
for the finest  
Scholar.*

*three Daughters.*

worthlesse times, would hardlie prefer  
before trifles, a thing fufficiēt to accuse  
this age of treason) then take a tragicke  
stile, & mourne for the trulie *Hon. Ferdinando's* death: whom though scattered *The late  
worthie  
Earle of  
Darbie, who  
died April  
1593.*  
teares haue honoured in some few son-  
nets, yet he is a true worthie obiect of e-  
uerlasting mourning for the facred *Newer e-  
nough lamē-  
ted.*  
Muses: who languishing with late sor-  
row for the fathers death, want strength *Who died,  
Sept. 1593.*  
and leasure to weepe for the Sonnes e-  
clipse: honour him sweete daughters  
children, who liuing honoured you: and  
control with the muses pen the repining  
fates, so farre as giue him immortalitie,  
and cause him liue to despight them. *Cantabri-  
giæ lachri-  
mæ.*  
Thus wept you for famous *Sydny*, my  
braue souldier: and men *Hon.* are one-  
ly fit to be mourned for by your Muses:  
which if being made sorrowfull they  
require larger matter to mourne for.  
Then name but *Hatton*, the Muses fauo- *Sir Christo-  
pher Hatton  
L. Chance-  
lor of Eng-  
land.*  
rite: the Churches musick: Learnings  
Patron, my once poor Ilands orna-  
ment: the Courtiers grace, the Schollars

Q 2                      coun-

*England to her*

Aurea pul-  
ueris, præ-  
stant æterna  
caducia.

*A thing fit  
onely to be  
done by thz.*

countenance, and the Guardes Cap-  
taine. *Thames* I dare auouch wil become  
teares: the sweetest perfumes of the  
Court will be sad sighes: euerie action  
shall accent grieffe; honor and eternitie  
shall striue to make his tombe, and after  
curious skill and infinite cost, ingraue  
this with golden letters, *Minus merito*:  
the fainting Hind vntimely chafde shall  
trip towards heauen, and *tandem si* shall  
be vertues mot. Or if sad Melancholie  
(daughters) displease your Muses (a  
thing well agreeing with my age) then  
take the course to canonize your owne  
writers, that not euery bald ballader to  
the preiudice of Art, may passe currant  
with a Poets name, but that they onely  
may bee reputed Hon. by that tearme,  
that shall liue priuiledged vnder your  
pennes: For not precise *Aristarchus*, or  
aged cenforing *Cato*, might challenge  
greater priuiledge of trueth, then your  
free toongd and vn-aw-bound skill: I  
speake this (daughters) not to that ende  
to make your children like the peremp-  
tory

*three Daughters.*

tory Criticks of this age, but to diswade  
you from the fault of the common peo-  
ple, the cruel mislike of your owne, and  
the intollerable flatterie of strangers  
wits. And if this or such like be not mat-  
ter, wherein your deare cherished muse  
may iustly delite it selfe, and sweetely  
please others, then sing of warres, and *Of the*  
of learned valour: of *Minervas* foe-dan- *warres in*  
ting shield: of *Mars*-conquering honor: *Flanders,*  
of the Courts Loadstarre: of Englands *on the Sea.*  
*Scipio*: of *France* his ayde: of *Fames* glo- *1588.*  
rie: of the *Muses* eldest sonne: of *Arts*  
ornament: of vertues miracle: of Reli-  
gions champion: of thrife honorable, *The euery*  
& worthilie-worthie-honoured-noble- *where belo-*  
*Essex.* (Daughter *Cambridge*) he was *ued Earle of*  
fometimes thy care, thou now art be- *Essex.*  
come his; bee proud that thou gauest *In Trinitie*  
fucke to so braue a man; and assure thy *Colledge.*  
selfe (yet slacke not to honor him) that *A patron of*  
hee will willinglie bestowe that milke *the Uniuer-*  
(which is now made bloud) with inte- *sities, and the*  
rest in thy quarrel; howsoever slack not, *Innes of*  
but write; sleepe not, but sing; let your *Court.*

Q 3

mor-

*England to her*

*Sweet Ma-  
ster Cambrid.*

*Britton.  
Percie.  
Willobie.  
Fraunce.  
Lodge.  
Master Da-  
nis of L. I.  
Drayton.  
Learned M.  
Plot.*

*Ballad ma-  
kers.*

*A work how-  
soever not  
respected yet  
excellently  
done by Th.  
Kidd.*

mornings muse like *Aurora* blushing  
march her equipage, in her stateliest  
buskind Poetrie. I know *Cambridge* how-  
soever now old, thou hast some young  
bid them be chaste, yet suffer them to be  
wittie; let them be soundly learned, yet  
suffer them to be gentlemanlike quali-  
fied: *Oxford* thou hast many, and they  
are able to sing sweetly when it please  
thee. And thou youngest of all three,  
either in Hexameter English, thou art  
curious (but that thou learnedst of my  
daughter *Cambridge*) or in any other  
kinde thou art so wifely merrie, as my  
selfe (though olde) am often delighted  
with thy musicke, tune thy sweet strings,  
& sing what please thee. Now me thinks  
I begin to smile, to see how these smaller  
lights (who not altogether vnworthily  
were set vp to expel darknes) blushing-  
lie hide themselues at the Suns appeare.  
Then should not tragickie *Garnier* haue  
his poore *Cornelia* stand naked vpon e-  
uery poste: then should not Times com-  
plaint delude with so good a title: then  
should

*three Daughters.*

should not the Paradife of daintie deu-  
fes bee a packet of balde rimes: then  
should not *Zepheria*, *Cephalus* and *Pro-* But by the  
*cris* (workes I dispraise not) like water <sup>greedy Prin-</sup>  
mē pluck euery passinger by the sleeue: <sup>ters so made</sup>  
then euery braineles toy should not v- <sup>prostitute</sup>  
<sup>that they are</sup>  
surpe the name of Poetrie: then should  
not the *Muses* in their tinsell habit be so <sup>Nor Poetrie</sup>  
basely handled by euery rough swaine; <sup>be learmed</sup>  
<sup>Ryme.</sup>  
then should not loues humour so tyran-  
nise ouer the chaste virgines: thē should  
honor be mournd for in better tearms.  
*Cambridge* make thy two childrē friēds,  
thou hast been vnkinde vnto the one to  
weane him before his time; & too fond  
vpon the other to keepe him so long <sup>D. Harney</sup>  
without preferment[:] the one is ancient, <sup>M. Nish.</sup>  
& of much reading, the other is young  
but ful of wit: tell them both thou bred  
thē, and brought thē vp: bid the ancient  
forbeare to offer wrong; tel the yonger <sup>Doctores li</sup>  
he shall suffer none: bid him that is free <sup>beri sunt.</sup>  
by law, think it a shame to be entangled <sup>Others of</sup>  
in small matters: but tell the other, he <sup>that name, as</sup>  
must leaue to meditate reuenge, for his <sup>fit for a</sup>  
<sup>Scholler to</sup>  
aduer- <sup>inough a-</sup>  
<sup>gainst.</sup>



*England to her*

*Great pittie.* aduerfarie (and let that suffice for al re-  
uenge) (to learnings iniurie) liues vn-  
regarded. And daughter (but I list not  
chide thee) I heare thou art in prefer-  
*For fellow-* ring growne too partiall: thou louest  
*ships.* sinisterly thy selfe, and has quite for-  
gotten me thy mother; it is thy sisters  
fault, as well as thine, you both of you  
preferre such into your priuat fauours,  
*Many* grace them with degrees, giue thē pla-  
*Graduats* ces; but I will say nothing because  
*vnmeet for* strangers heare me) who of all other  
*the common* are most vnmeete to do me good: nay,  
*wealth.* that which doth vexe me more, you say  
all herein you are mother like: What?  
*Lamentable* haue I preferd to dignitie in the Com-  
*when it is so* mon wealth, such as the world in true  
*in a common* estimate, haue thought vnmeete? Haue  
*wealth.* I relied vpon them, as vpon *Atlas* shoul-  
ders, who were vnmeete for so great a  
burden? Haue I euer ventured my selfe  
in the field vnder their ensignes, who  
were reputed cowards? Did I euer im-  
*England* ploy in forraine matters, such as were  
*great care* vnfit for priuate causes? Nay, I protest  
*in appoy-*  
*ning her offi-*  
*cers.*

*three Daughters.*

for these 36. yeres I haue alwayes cared  
to take them nearest into my fauour,  
who were best acquainted with wif- The right  
Honorable  
domes secret. I relied vpon those in my LL. of the  
priuy Coun-  
sell.  
peace, who *Nestor*-like, were wise to  
preuent warre: I trusted to those in my Valiant cap-  
taines.  
warres, who *Hector*-like were valiant to Learned  
procure my peace: I sent such into for- Embassa-  
dors.  
raine countries, as birth made Hon. ex- Hen. Darby.  
perience wise; education learned: these  
haue beene my honors: and if I haue  
faultes (children) they proceede from  
you. But I am loath to doe you the least Vniuersities  
not to be con-  
trolled by eue-  
ry odde con-  
ceipt.  
wrong: and to charge you with vnkind-  
nes in my last age: for vnlesse I haue e-  
uer doted (a thing easie in so great a  
loue) *Fraunce* my sifter (for I will begin  
with her) cannot so much brag of *Paris*, The Vni-  
uersities of  
*Orleance*, *Lyons*, *Rhemes*, or the proudest Fraunce,  
of all her children: as I may iustly of you not equall to  
ours in Eng-  
land.  
three. *Germanie* hath painefull *Bafill*, and  
pleasant populous *Frankefort*: where Founded  
1490.  
*Ceres*, *Bacchus*, the *Naiades* & *Dryades* do Founded  
1506.  
march together, & yet these too meane

R

to

*England to her*

*Anno. 1457.* to compare with you I passe by *Italies*  
of-spring, who of long time hath caried  
her selfe with excessiue pride. Ritch *Ve-*  
*nice*, with her 400. bridges: great *Mil-*  
*layn*, proude *Genua*, fertill *Bomon**a*, aun-  
cient *Rauema*, noblie honorable *Naples*,  
(once *Parthinope* :) holy *Rome*, and faire  
*Florence*. Thus they were tearmed long  
sinee, but now vnequall to compare  
with you: *Salernitana* sometimes could  
giue counsell, when she shewed her care  
and skil to my deare *Henry*, but now ob-  
scurelie shee lieth defolate: you may  
passe these farre, & without presumpti-  
on compare with *Toledo*, *Spaynes Na-*  
*uell*: with *Vienna* fearefull to the *Turkes*:  
*The Papiists*  
*diligent to*  
*gaine Eng-*  
*lish Students.* you are talkt of euery where, and false-  
lie *Rome* goeth aboute to intice your  
children, offering them kingdomes  
to forsake you: (daughters) spare  
not, take what I haue and bestowe vp-  
on them: let them not whilst I liue, for-  
sake you for want of liuing: my wealth  
and possessions that I haue, are intended  
chiefie to your good: and howfoeuer  
either

*three daughters.*

either the base cormorant, or the poore  
citie-vsurer, or the wanton spend-thrift, All thinks  
they haue  
more reason  
to be richer  
then Schol-  
lers.  
take themselues to haue more interest  
in my substance then you haue, yet they  
vsurpe vpon my kindenes, and make  
mee beleeeue, that the two staies of my  
age (you my children for peace, and my  
souldiers for warre) haue both enough: An vntrunk  
I haue made lawes to augment your  
reuenewes by your rent corne: I pro-  
uided lately for my souldiers, whē they Englands  
chiefe care is  
of learning.  
were in want: credit mee children, my  
care is of you onely; for vnlesse you di-  
rect them, their plentie is dangerous to  
breed rebellion: their force is doubt-  
full to make them disobedient: their ho-  
nor likely to grow tyrannous, and what  
soeuer they inioy without you, to bee  
dangerous to the Common wealth. Let  
your children (daughters) content thē-  
selues: leaue to repine at baser fortunes:  
let them be perfwaded of this, that Fame Schollers  
must learne  
patience.  
shall be their seruant, Honour shall bee  
their subiect, Glory shalbe their crown,  
Eternitie their inheritance: (then in-

R 2

deard

*England to her*

deard wit decking admired daughters)  
write and let the worlde know that hea-  
uens harmonic is no musicke, in respect  
of your sweete, and well arte-tuned  
strings: that *Italian Ariosto* did but sha-  
dowe the meanest part of thy muse, that  
*Taffos Godfrey* is not worthie to make  
compare with your truelie eternizing  
*Elisas* stile: let France-admired *Bellaw*,  
and courtlike amarus *Roufard* con-  
fesse that there be of your children, that  
in these latter times haue farre surpas-  
sed them. Let diuine *Bartasse* eternally  
praise worthie for his weeks worke, say  
the best thinges were made first: Let o-  
ther countries (sweet *Cambridge*) enuie,  
(yet admire) my *Virgil*, thy petrarch, di-  
uine *Spenser*. And vnlesse I erre, (a thing  
easie in such simplicitie) deluded by  
dearlie beloued *Delia*, and fortunatelie  
fortunate *Cleopatra*; *Oxford* thou maist  
extoll thy court-deare-verse happie  
*Daniell*, whose sweete refined muse, in  
contracted shape, were sufficient a-  
mongst

*M. Atabla-  
sker.  
Spenser and  
others.*

*Lylia clou-  
del, whose  
laures are  
making.*

*All praise  
worthy.  
Lucretia  
Sweet Shak-  
spere.  
Eloquent  
Gaucelm.*

*three Daughters.*

mongst men, to gaine pardon of the *Wanton*  
 finne to *Rosemond*, pittie to distressed *Adonis*  
*Cleopatra*, and euerliuing praise to her *Watsons*  
 louing *Delia*: Register your childrens *heyre*.  
 petegree in Fames forehead, so may *So well gra-*  
 you fill volumes with *Chausers* praise, *ced Antho-*  
 with *Lydgate*, the Scottis Knight, and *nie deser-*  
 such like, whose vnrefined tongues *ueth immor-*  
 farre short of the excellencie of this *tall praise*  
 age, wrote simplie and purelie as the *from the had*  
 times weare. And when base and in- *of that di-*  
 iurious trades, the sworne enemies to *uine Lady*  
 Learnings eternitie (a thing vsuall) *who like Co-*  
 shall haue deuoured them, either with *linna cont-*  
 the fretting cancker worme of mouldie *ding with*  
 time: with *Arabian* spicerie: with eng- *Pindarus*  
 lish honnie: with outlandish butter *was oft vi-*  
 (matters of imployment for the aged *florious.*  
 dayes of our late authors) yet that then *Sir David*  
 such (if you thinke them worthie) in *I. yn say.*  
 despite of base Grofers, (whome I *Matilda ho-*  
 charge vpon paine of learnings curfe, *norably ho-*  
 not to handle a leafe of mine) may liue *nored by so*  
 by your meanes, canonized in lear- *suert a Po.*  
 ning *Diana.*

R 3

*England to her*

nings catalogue. I am loath to bee too long in my aduifements to you (wife daughters :) and therefore heere I peri-  
*England to be defended by scholars.* od them, wifhing you (if neede bee) to make mine apologie: not that I fainte to maintaine the leaft parte of my credit, againft any male-contented felfe-conceited, vnregarded malicious fub-  
iect, but that *Europe* in this age, delited onelic with things perfonall, fhall not bring mee vpon the theater in matter of fuch defignements, to ftand (againft my owne inhabitants) to the fauoura-  
*Your learned Doctors.* ble courtesie of their wife Cenfors. Daughters followe their counfell, and honour fuch, as I haue for wifedome loued, for yeares and authoritie appointed to rule ouer you: let not your younger children defpife their aged  
*Cherifh your youth.* brethren, loue them as becommeth mothers, and I will fend for them in conue-  
*The fault of Vniuerfities.* nient time (as their grandmother) to gouerne my common wealth. And be-  
caufe fhce fhall not thinke I neglect her,  
reade

*three Daughters.*

reade what I haue written to mine inhabitants in her behalfe: iudge how I stand affectionate; God graunt you may all followe my aduise, so shall I finde you trustie, and you me to be moste louing: then shall the world feare mee, for such worthie children: and enuie you for so kinde a mother. But heere (children) I must ende with you, and speake to the rest of my wife inhabitants.

ENG-





## ENGLAND TO AL HER INHABITANTS.

*England too  
kind.*



F the sad & iust com-  
plaint of a mournful  
(vniustlie wronged)  
mother, would giue  
my teares but truce so  
long as my tongue  
had told my tale; then

*She speaketh  
not to those  
that haue  
lost the land.*

could I easily perfwade my selfe, that a  
matter so full rathe should gaine pitie,  
and that these often stopped periods  
should gaine credite: But seeing faults  
done by such as had no reason to wish  
me euil, & my grief increased by those,  
who might iustlie haue been my com-  
fort; giue me leaue to leaue those, who  
vnkindly forfooke me, and exhort thē,  
whom abroad tearmes English men; na-  
ture children; and dutie subiects. And  
herein

*her Inhabitants.*

herein first foreseeing the euils to come  
I will renew the speech of the Romane  
Orator in the case begun in the per-  
son of *Africanus*. This age hauing re-  
ceiued into her hands the Common-  
wealth, resembling a table of most cu-  
rious and exact workmanship, yet ob-  
scured (as it were) and darkened with  
old age, doth so blame her selfe that a-  
nie shal go about to renew her colours,  
that she hath not so much as care to pre-  
serue her rude darke dimmed and ob-  
scured shadowes: for what is left now  
of the ancient Romane manners, which  
happely sometime sustained the Com-  
mon wealth? Where is now that wor-  
thie and ancient honor due to the lear-  
ned Student and couragious Souldier?  
These are so long since worne out of  
vse, as *Rome* that sometimes florished,  
seemes now to want the verie remem-  
brance of them. It is needfull therefore  
that I should awake the eternally famo-  
fed personages of olde, who liued once  
honourable to their countrie, but now

S

lye

*England to all*

"lye dead, and their vertues buried with  
"them, because few or none can be found  
"to followe their example. Wee liue to  
"render an account for this offence, but  
"God graunt wee bee not found faultie  
"and chastised for our labour: for it is  
"not by chance but by our sinne, that we  
"haue but the appearance of a state well  
"gouerned, the trueth whereof we haue  
"lost long since. This Orator weighing  
the vertue and honestie of the ancient  
Romanes, against the ambition & ryotous  
demeanour of his time, found that  
his feare was not causeles, for the ruine  
of the Common wealth. In like manner  
may I poore desolate and distressed car-  
tife doe, if within my bowels vntimely  
bred by my owne follie, be found signes  
of greater daunger; and not so much  
remaining as the verie name of honestie;  
for to my vn-sufferable & vn-pitied  
griefe, *Modestie* & *Sobrietie* are changed  
into all manner of dissolution. There  
could not bee found amongst them in  
the sober times of our forefathers such  
needles

*Rome altered.*

*The common  
wealth mis-  
erable, that  
hath her face  
within her  
selfe.*

*Excess of  
these times.*

*her Inhabitants.*

needles excesse of all superfluities: for they were sober, frugall, and full of strength, fit to labour the earth and to weild armes, knowing, as *Alexander* the Great made remonstrance to them of *Macedon*, who sawe *Darius* his armie shine with gold, that all that sumptuous shewe should bee nothing but a richer spoyle to them which were clad with yron. Late is the time since the Lowe Countries, Images of my state, and a glasse whereby to addresse my selfe; since the Duke of *Burgonie*, as *Cominæus* writeth, could gaine nothing of the *Swisard* for his poore pouertie: And howsoever in *Cæsars* time, conquering ambition that ment to make the Romanes Eagle pearch vnder the North-pole, could hardly bee content to suffer me to liue free from inuasion, yet now my abundance hath made me an eye sore to my neighbour Kings, and the vaine superfluities of some hath made the world beleue that my *Albion* cliffes are white rockes of pure Diamont: and

*Not safe for  
a countrey to  
bragge of  
wealth if the  
Spaniard  
know it.*

S 2

that

ACTUS V

                  burning coale,  
                  digge our mines  
                  howfocuer thy  
                  aduised thee  
                  dift thou perifh by  
                  *Rome* late mentioned  
                  thou hadft neuer  
                  the *Gauls* fought vnto  
                  lacked by the *Goths*  
                  had not bin hung  
                  brau'd it in  
                  and thy young  
                  (as mine  
                  neglect their home  
                  of their wealth,  
                  by proclamation  
                  what can this bee,  
                  to faile? make me  
                  glutted couetuous  
                  marke; & that which  
                  pend faft enough by  
                  to caufe others to  
                  : and that which  
                  love or none (but diftref-  
                  the harmes caufed by  
  theſe

*her Inhabitants.*

these euils. For to remember the times <sup>Lawes for</sup>  
neuer to be forgotten, when old *Brutus* <sup>sobriety, the</sup>  
liu'd, seuer lawes prohibiting these in- <sup>finewes of a</sup>  
Kingdome.  
temperancies (which howsoever made  
in abundance seeme to sleepe at this  
day) with seuer discipline strengthned  
the finewes of my Common wealth,  
forbidding me thereby to come to dis-  
solution and couetousnesse; imitating  
their estates who haue highly risen by  
obseruation of such lawes, and by their  
continuall paynes, gained that fame, <sup>Plentie and</sup>  
which I loose by my perpetuall ease. O <sup>as for the Cā-</sup>  
if those ancient lawes, if those strict and <sup>kers of a</sup>  
Kingdome.  
seuer customs had renewed their force  
in the midst of me, they would haue ser-  
ued to haue remedied my euill, by want  
whereof I feare my state shall be no bet-  
ter then *Rome* or *Sparta*; betwixt whom  
these lawes (hauing lost their vertue) in  
stead of emulation for woorth in true  
honor, they proudly bandied vaine ti- <sup>Proud King-</sup>  
tles, striving which should be most pro- <sup>domes must</sup>  
digal; and thus each corrupting other, <sup>fall.</sup>  
both became so distressed, that they  
S 3 were

*England to all*

*How Rome  
fell.*

*Loose plea-  
sure begets  
treason.*

were compelled to retaile that which they had bought by grosse, and in the end remaine a perpetuall example of a memorable vengeance, and so make *Rome* subiect to *Cæsars Tiberius*, and other tyrannies. Behold a true mirrhor which makes me see my sentence to bee iust; and that there is no plague more deadly poysonfull, then pleasure, whose rash desires perfume vpon gouernmēt, and not fearing to touch her sacred throne, fill the land full of treasons; the subiects full of impietie; and in the end doth ruinate the whole state: This I might witnesse by fundrie, whose excessive pride and intollerable pleasures putrifying the ayre, haue filled their houses with contagion, fiered their walles, and the earth as wearie hath deuoured them vp. But that which besides these (for these I silently passe as being but the faults of some fewe) which doth make my feare to increase daily, & (like the warlike engine that ploweth furrowes in the armie) shall batter downe the  
the

*her inhabitants.*

the walles of my peace (if prouision in *Discord vntieth the armour of a common wealth.* time preuent not so foule a mischiefe) is the hatefull discord vntying those firme knottes, which once bound my armor so faste about mee, that I contemned open violence, as being too weake to encounter mee, and scorned vndermining treacherie, as being too foolish to supplant my prosperitie. For where are now become these renowned amities of our forefathers? these common resolutions sometime vsuall to *Happy daies.* mine inhabitants? those iealous mindes impatient of strangers pride? vniting themselues, least forreiners should doe them wrong? what is become of that once vsed true-hearted loue towardes me their countrie? hath not enuie, diffimulation and needeles discord, so shaken the pillars of my age? the staye of mine honor? the fortresse of my Iland? and the posteritie of my land? that my diuines may say, *Ephraim is against Manasses, Manasses against Ephraim, and both against Juda;* that my tragick-writers



*England to all*

*Miserable  
state that is  
so.*

*Let the trai-  
tors accuse  
me if they  
can.*

*A thing  
done in other  
countries.*

*Yet these no  
causes to be  
rebellious.*

*Discorde.*

*Whom God  
keepeth in  
despight of  
them.*

ters may compare me to poore *Jocasta* that *Eteocles* and *Pollinices* haue both forgotten that one wombe bare them both; smale distance parted but those two teates, which so often gaue them both sucke, nor could that (hatred) after death liuing hatred, possible proceede from poore *Jocasta*: And let these speake, (if shame will let them speake) if the least shew of harme, the smallest shadowe of iniurie, if pretence were giuen of the least wrong by my meanes: did I spoyle them of their wealth? and close lie folde them to be a praie to strangers? did I banish without cause, their kinsmen, wiues, or children to liue distressed in a forraine cuntry? did I hide niggardly the benefites of my peace, and plentie from them? Let him answer me that is most vnthankful, hath iust cause been offered on my part, why discorde distracting my inhabitants, shoulde lay me open to the spoile of mine enemies? could their cause proceed from a poore Iland, that I should haue my princeesse  
fur-

*her Inhabitants.*

surprised by treason? my nobilitie de- A thing oft attempted.  
famed by slander? my statelie buildings Lybels.  
vndermined by tyrannie? and my selfe  
left comfortles to lament my fortune?  
was it (english men) (for though cruel-  
tie forbids, yet kindenes makes mee so  
tearme you) was it (I say) any iust cause,  
but supposed, by my meanes? I am loath No fland can remember  
to vpbraide your vnthankfulnes, by re- greater be-  
nefits to her  
inhabitants.  
membring of my fauours. Haue you  
not had (and so long may haue,) vnlesse  
your selues be iniurious to your selues,  
a Princeesse truelie nobled with all ver-  
tues, a Queene matchles, in whome ho- Elizabeth.  
nors vnsteined pure die, hath set foorth  
such liuely colours, as enemies must  
(and doe) feare: friendes ought and  
should loue: whome the age now pre-  
sent must admire, and the time follow-  
ing still praising, wonder at; more cour-  
teous then the churle-fauing *Abigal*:  
more courtly then the friendes-hono-  
ring *Hester*: more valiant then prince-  
killing *Judith*; who blessing me by her  
meanes with a plentious peace, & beau-  
T tifying

*England to all*

*No pen able  
to praise suf-  
ficiently.*

tifying her courte with eternall praise,  
hath made both to bee enuies marke in  
her enemies eye; the shadowing Cedar  
to her distressed friends: and the force  
conquering sworde to her professed  
foes. There might my muse dare to flie a  
matchles pitch, but that faintinglie, I  
feel my *Ycarian* wings to melt with the  
heate of so bright a sunne, this onelie  
shall suffice without further repeatings  
of her worth, thereby to make your  
faulte far greater conceiued with teares,  
accented with sighes; and vttered by  
truethes naked oratresse; that what  
praise euer wifdome gained (as al praise  
is but wifedomes due) that same is, and  
shall bee your (sacred princeffe) her in-  
heritance, who hath so often contended  
whether her glorie might mount high-  
er vnto fames tower, blowne vp with the  
vowes of mortall men; or her thanks  
ascend further vnto heauen, conueyed  
by thousand *Scraphims*. Live thē, though  
farrowfull to ice mee sad (diuine and  
renowned Empresse) earths glorie, re-  
ligions

*her Inhabitants.*

ligions comfort, admired wisedomes inheritrix, here perpetuallie to bee praised of men, and else where immortalie to be crowned of God himselfe. Haue you not had thousands of worthie and braue ladies bewtifying poore me, who all seeme vestall-like to haue lighted virginities lampe, from the euer-burning taper of chaste *Elisas* vertues? Haue you not had in me (things hardlie found else where) sage and wise *Nestors* such whose state guiding wisedomes were able to equalize (if it were not your faulte) mee a poore Iland to the former monarchies: were but those famous and neuer enough commended lawes, made by them in their deepe scanning iudgements, practised by you, then how shuld I iustly pride it in my worth, & bee valiantly couragious where I feare? haue you not had for the space of these many yeares, though but two, yet eternallie famoused vniuersities, 1. *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, where Englands youth haue learned such worthie precepts,

T 2

*No land so many.*

*Graue and wise Counsellors hath England still had. The strength of a kingdom are lawes. and their execution the meanes to expell feare from her subjects. England may iustly glory of her three daughters.*

*3. Innes of court.*

*England to all*

cepts, as ill befeemes thē to requite me  
with such ingratitude? These serue to  
beautifie (in their want) my plentie with  
their wisedom, whilest you (vngratefull  
you) in your plētie seeke through their  
want, to contemne their wisedome: here  
could I iustly complaine for them, but  
that I want teares to expresse my owne  
forrowe: for I see those who most are  
bound (if benefites receiued might  
binde) to respect them, in the iniurious  
opinion of learned-modeest-naked-hu-  
militie wrongfully to depriue them of  
things necessarie: And least they should  
grow too glorious, to obscure thē too  
farre to learnings infamie. I cease to re-  
peate the smaller fauours, (matters iust-  
ly deseruing a thankfull loyaltie) & con-  
tent my felse with these; that for the  
greatest benefites that euer inhabitants  
enioyed since Paradices first erection, I  
distressed Iland haue (by discord of my  
owne) lamentably indured the greatest  
wrongs: my enemies haue seene into  
the seed plots of my discord long since,  
and

*Note this.*

*A thing mi-  
serable when  
the Vniuer-  
sities are  
poore.*

*A wicked po-  
licie.*

*An vndoub-  
ted truth.*

*The Spani-  
ard.*

*her Inhabitants.*

and haue found them to threaten my  
ruine, they haue bred diffentions, and Pope.  
make me nourish them to my owne de- Frenchmen.  
struction, they haue strook fire into the Scots and all  
tinder of my soft heart, and haue made laugh at our  
me blow it till I burne to ashes. Is it the discord.  
inequalitie of cōdition that makes this The cause of  
discord? Is it the might of some few o- discord.  
uersshadowing the meaner, that fils you  
with enuie against mee? I cannot liue A Kingdom  
howfoeuer *Plato* foolishly dreamed) cannot stand  
but my harmonie must bee made of di- without ine-  
uers founds; my sinewes must bee of qualitie.  
fundrie strength, and my states full of  
inequalitie: yet for all this the meanest The modera-  
can haue no wrong, the greatest shall tion of ine-  
do no violence; I wil liue neuer to per- qualitie.  
mit a tyrannie: both equal deare to me,  
whereof neither can suffer danger, but  
I must needs perish: for thus to see ei-  
ther my Nobility (a thing not yet heard Lamenta-  
of) or my Cleargie (a thing too vsuall) ble times.  
or my cities (a thing too commō) or my  
fubiects (a thing too lamentable) fondly  
to disagree; what is it els but to breede

T 3

within

*England to all*

*Greece perished  
by discord.*

*Beware (true  
English mē.)*

*Dangerous  
cause of union.*

*The praise of  
inequality.*

within my borders wolues, which I banished long since, by my *Edgars* means? and to nourish that flame which consumed *Greece*? I meane the enuie between her two eyes, *Athens*, and *Lacedæmon*, to the great contentment of their sworneemie *Philip*, the King of *Macedon*, and shall not your hatred, discord, and such like, tennifying your owne infamies to make others smile, make me perpetually mourne as folde to sorrowe, and the Spanish *Philip* more ioyfull then the King of *Macedon*? Let vs not stay till we bee vnited by our enemies crueltie, as *Xerxes* oftē caused the Greekish vnion. Shall they perfwade you (degenerous mindes to bee perfwaded) that it is better to suffer tyrannie of a stranger, then inequalitye of a friend? (Deare countrymen) and so still to be reputed (vntill extreamely you deserue otherwise) in a humane bodie doe the hands, the feete, and the head, fall at discorde among themselves? Is not a wound sometimes as deadly in the hcele, (for so perished the

*her Inhabitants.*

the thrife valiant *Achilles*) as dangerous in the head? Are not my parts so vnited amongst themfelues, that the leaft iarre is a fault, the leaft difcord a fall? Were I made fo abfolute that I could ftand, & haue no parts, then might iarres be, and I in tune: were I not a mother that bred you both, then might you difsent, and I not fall. Suppose fome part of my Iland hath bewtie of townes, yet other parts haue fertilitie of foile: fome place hath wife inhabitants, yet others are valiant: fome are plaine, full of all pleafure, yet others are walled, as it were with mountaines, and full of all faftie: fome are shadowed with thicke trees: to auoid heat, yet others are compaffed with filuer ftreames, to beget colde: thus all partes of my Iland, and the particulars of my ftate are fuch, that each imparting dignitie, all of them make mee partaker of an abfolute happines: fo that whilst vnitie is maintained amongst my people, I vniuerfallie enioye thofe benefites which I lacke (as loofelie being difperfed)



*England to all*

*Equality not  
to be hoped  
for of stran-  
gers.*

fed by cruell discord: alas: in what Common wealth can equalitie be founde? Think you if I were fould to strangers, you were free from emulation, vnlesse it were by this meanes, by being miserable? the Philosophers sometimes desired this, in their Common wealths: but foolish men are ignorant of the trueth, not sounding into the depth of eternities wisdom, who ordained the inequality of things, to preserve each other: amongst the elements is not the fire tempered with the water: in the bodie, the heart cooled by the lightes: in the soule the affections ruled by the reason, and what nature hath done in these, shall wee thinke vntollerable in a Common wealth? Looke but vpon the Low-countries, where vnequall Cantons bred such a fire, (increased by false reporte) that whilst some boasting of their valour, did disgrace others, all haue bin in danger of the enemies conquest: and howsoever their gouernours could not easily see to what this tended,

*Low coun-  
tries danger-  
ed by emu-  
lation.*

*her Inhabitants.*

ded, yet lamentable experience hath taught them now, that discorde is fatall to a Common wealth. The disagreement of *Italie* was the ouerthrowe of *Discord.* their conquering empire: the same made the *Gaules* subiect to *Julius Cæsar*, thus if *Europe*, the grandmother of vs poore Ilands, had not dealt by misconstring her owne friendes, the *Turke* had not so farre made entrance into *Greece*, *Slauonia*, *Hungarie* and other countries, that he should proudly dare to\* encounter *And challenge him.* the *German* Emperour; and stand there-1594. by to threaten vs, like as a tempest vpon *If Christians ioyne not together.* the top of a mountaine, readie with his showres, to ouerflow the valleyes. But what firme constancie can be expected in the vniuerfall palfey of all *Europe*? How can kingdomes vnite themselues, when I but one small Iland haue a number of such contrarie mindes to harbor in mee? This might possible bee hoped *A true rule.* for, if wee had but learned this, that one of vs cannot perish without another: and as wee see in a firme pillard vaulte,  
V that

### *My Island*

I, yet lamentable experience hath  
told them now that mine is fatal  
a Common wealth. The danger  
not of Italy was the overthrow of Rome  
her conquering empire: the same made  
the Gauls inherit to Julius Caesar, thus  
if Europe, the granaries of vs people  
lands, had not dealt by miscounting  
her own friends, the Turke had not so  
far made entrance into Greece. Simu-  
nia, Hungary and other countries that  
he should proudly dare to encounter  
the German Emperor: and stand there  
by to threaten vs, like as a tempest upon  
the top of a mountain, reach with his  
showres, to overflow the valleys. But  
what firme confidence can be expected  
in the universall policy of all Europe?  
How can kingdomes write themselves  
when I but one small land have a num-  
ber of such contrarie mindes to harbor  
in mee? This might possible bee hoped  
for, if wee had but learned this, that one  
of vs cannot perish without another:  
and as wee see in a firme pillard vault,  
V that

*England to all*

*Note.*

*A thing to  
be repented.*

that some fewe stones being taken away,  
the other incontinentlie fall, and then in  
time ruines the whole worke: so fareth  
it with my state, whose contrarie minds  
may seeme smallie dangerous at the first  
view, but swiftlie (though vnseene) it  
doth tumble downe. Surelie but the  
groundes of our libertie, and foundati-  
ons of our Common wealth, which  
were laide by the mercie of God, the va-  
lour of our vnion; the relief of bre-  
thren, and the concord of all: if I were  
indangered by my allies, and distressed  
by the multitude of my acquaintance,  
(as sometimes hath beene the state of  
*Flaunders*) whose enemies haue caused  
by corruption her supposed friendes  
to diuide her body, selling her to them  
that haue offered the vtmost farthing;  
then might I iustly blame (not you) but  
those whom coloured tearmes christe-  
ned by the name of friends: but now  
seeing I haue relieued manie, sent my  
souldiers to take armes, not for my own,  
but for their good: seeing I opened not  
my

*her Inhabitants.*

my citie gates, to admit strangers, who were able to commaunde my strongest walles, but hoyfte vp my sayles to conuey out my souldiers to defend others; then let not mee perish by you whom I haue deemed no lesse deare, then my owne life: trecheries haue taught states, to take heed with whome they ioyne in amitie: and *Demosthenes* wished the *Greekes* to take heede of this, which if they had wisely followed *Amintas* sonne and his successors had not oppressed *Greece* by a fained amitie. Thus forewarned *Nicolaus* vnder vauld the Flemings forefathers, to take heede of forrainers, which if they had wisely followed, so many cities of trafficke had not been townes of Garrisons. But my ruine (if it vnhappelie happen, which God forbid) is not by strangers force, for they are too feeble to weaken my state: but by such as I kindly nourish in mine owne bowels: for whilst one holdeth for *Spaine*, another for *France*, the third for the *Lowe Countries*, and euerie

*As some  
haue done.*

*A thing la-  
mentable.*

*If we our  
selues be v-  
nited.*

*A thing too  
miserable if  
it should be  
so.*

V 2

quarter

### *England to all*

quarter of the land, hath such as being displeased with mee, are desirous to please strangers; it must needs happen that my ioynts being racked with so great a torment, I liue feeble, & confesse that mine owne inhabitants did worke my ouerthrowe: the gold and siluer of mine enemies is able to preuaile as much (with my vniustly tearmed English men) as in the daies of *Scaurus*. Fondlie are you deceiued with a hope of quiet to your minds, howfoeuer in shew they pretend so: for credit me that haue tried it long since, they meane nothing lesse.

*England can  
not perish  
but by Eng-  
lish men.*

*The Spani-  
ard is foolish  
to hope so.*

*Note this.*

But as *Philip* made the *Athenians* beleeue that he had pretences against the *Plotenses*, *Olynthians*, and others, thereby to passe further; but *Demosthenes* told the citizens, that if *Philip* had once wonne *Olyntha* and *Corcyra*, who demanded succour of the *Athenians*, hee would not rest till hee had conquered whole *Grecia*: which by little and little he effected after. And howfoeuer (cō-  
trimen) *Philip* may perfwade you, that  
his

*her Inhabitants.*

his purpose is but onely to reforme religion, and to passe no further: yet vn-<sup>Trust him</sup>der this pretence, hauing gottē footing<sup>not.</sup> within your walles, harbor within your townes, and hands within your treasuries, you shall finde his entent to be farre otherwise, and neuer (vnles your wiues conspire against them) to bee rooted<sup>Give him an</sup> out. Thus hauing obtained *Corinth*, hee<sup>inch he will</sup> shall after come to ride vpon the backe<sup>take an ell.</sup> of *Greece*: or as *Cassius* perfwading the *Heluetians*, vnder pretence of alliance, and shoue of a good cause, broched a discorde, and so made *France* subiect to the Romane Empire. For if *Maximilian* the Duke of *Austrich* durst say that hee treated of agreement with King *Lewes*<sup>An vsuall</sup> the 12. onely to be reuenged of the fe-<sup>policy at this</sup> uenteen iniuries which he had receiued<sup>day.</sup> of the French men (although they were scarce thought to haue done him any) what shall wee thinke the *Spanyard* will performe against vs, of whō he suppo- seth to haue receiued so many harmes, and so foule dishonors? No (valerous

V 3

and

1. 1.1  
 2. 1.2  
 3. 1.3  
 4. 1.4

1. 1.1  
 2. 1.2  
 3. 1.3  
 4. 1.4

—

SECRET

1. **THE**  
 2. **THE**

ner,



*her Inhabitants.*

ner, first obtained by their true valour,  
by *Henry* the 2. and after by *Charles* the  
9. and so lately by these two last *Hen-*  
*ries*. In like manner, if you continue as  
you haue begun, to be vnited amongst  
your selues, to be fuspitious of forraine  
flatterie, to distrust (vpon al pretences) *As still you*  
the Spanish treacherie; then shall I flo- *haue bene.*  
rish as most fortunate, and cause them  
sue for my truce. That one conquest  
(when seas did swel with so great pride)  
obtained against their Naue 1588. hath *Note this.*  
by Fames alarme been founded in the  
vtmost parts of the world, & hath made  
the *Spanyard* desirous of my fauour. And  
if I bee challenged to buy my peace at  
too high a rate, I will fooner ioyne with  
*France*, and lend him (as I haue done) the  
riches of my land, thē intrapped by *Sy-*  
*res* fongs, haue my beautie so long cō-  
mended, with *Æsops* Crow to let fall the *Dangerous*  
foode whereupon I liue. And howfoe[uer]- *to ioyne with*  
*France* by too much sweating is growne *Spaine.*  
drie, and by too great bloudletting is  
waxen pale, and that for one crowne she  
hath

*England to all*

*France  
poore by  
warres.*

*Not so faith-  
full as they  
should be.*

*Why Spaine  
is so constant  
in her free  
offers.*

*No grounds  
betweene them  
as they had  
opposed peace.*

*Remember  
thou Art*

hath spent so manie, that now she is scarce able to giue her souldiers pay. And howsoever *Flanders* falsely wil sel their friends to buy their peace: yet let vs make this a rule of estate, that when the might of one kingdome extraordinarie groweth great, the lesser should vnite themselues, as the smaller beasts against the enemies they feare. And though *Spayne* may seeme constantlie prodigall, (a wonder prodigallitie to be constant) (and neuer possible without supplie of the *Indian* gold) and *France* too poore and needie, yet thinke that ciuill warres hauing been so long within her bowels, are only the causes of all this miserie. I compare not the greatness of these two kingdomes (howsoever there may bee matter wherein to ballance them) but I am sure of this (as the case stands) I haue farre lesse cause to suspect the *Frenchman* then the *Spaniard*: for his intent hath been as it was towards them of the Lowe Countries, when *Charles* the fift and the Pope concluded

*her Inhabitants.*

cluded to ouerthrow and disperse them  
by their owne meanes: the pretence  
was religion, the commiffion was gran-  
ted to the Bifhop of *Terracina*: fuch like  
policies (as they thought) were not ea-  
fily found out. I ceafe to repeate and  
fhame to vtter the fundrie offers that  
haue been made to my owne countrie  
men, feeding them with vaine hope and  
vncertaine promifes, to fell my wealth,  
my honour, my dignitie, and what I re-  
puted excellent to the enemies hand;  
the prefent times, and the feare & dan-  
ger fcarce paff, make me I muft remem-  
ber it. Nor are the malicious practifes  
againft me, fuch, as zeale fomtime kind-  
led for Religions fake; but in thofe  
daies when *Spayne* and I were both of  
one minde, he courted me with tearmes  
halfe deceiuing my fimplicitie; he am-  
bitioufly fued to obtaine my fauour; he  
fpake me faire but ment falſely; he was  
treacherous, I fufpitious, and fo we par-  
ted: and doe thofe now within my  
bounds (who tearme themfelues Ca-  
tholikes

*To Parry,  
Babbington,  
&c.*

*Lopn ex-  
cuted the 7.  
of Iune 1594.*

*Spaine not  
only an ene-  
mie for reli-  
gion.*

X

tholikes



*her Inhabitants.*

ther with the intrals of her earth, did she  
not shed the purest of her bloud to sa-  
tisfie those *Spanish* bloud-hounds? This  
trueth hath told vs, out of the vntrue *The Spanish*  
mouth of their owne Bishops. Hath re-*colomie.*  
ligion saued lawfull Princes that they  
haue not violently been expelled their  
owne kingdomes, by the Spanish tyran-  
nie? What countrie foeuer had to deale  
with them (as fewe there bee which are  
free from them) haue been forced to  
confesse that *Spayne* is humble till she *Note this.*  
get footing; but thẽ ambitiously proud;  
that she pretends religion and promi-  
feth largely, but that she cares for no  
religion and performes it sparingly: yet  
her false zeale, smoothing her face ouer  
to the simple view, hath made her vni-  
ted to some; deare to many; and vn-  
suspected to all. But such practises haue  
been a tyrants cloake, which they haue  
cast about thẽ to deuoure the Church.  
Such pretēces haue bin masking weeds  
which they haue worne in policie, the  
better to cast lottes for the Common-  
X 2                      wealth,

*England to all*

*As a whole  
to Eng-  
land.*

*Spaniards  
like Jews.*

would, thus (pretending to write coun-  
ter me) (for so I may justly tearme  
you if you believe them) if either you  
come to know me here, or see amongst  
you my filer the Church to remaine  
and finally, credit no pretence whatsoe-  
ver: admit no strangers to see the so-  
crets of my land: approve none in hope  
to give your falsely pretended religi-  
on; when you shall finde they slander me  
but of instantanie, your brethren of  
heretic, themselves of peticie, and only to  
this end, the more easilie to spoyle mee  
and the more deadly, to poyson the  
Church: did not the *Babylonians* thus ac-  
cuse Gods people of false religion? the  
*Jews* and the *Romanes*, have they not  
under this pretence accused our Saviour  
and his owne disciples? Is not damned  
*Mahomet* a cause at this daye, why the  
*Turke* hath conquered so many coun-  
tries? and if there be one amongst them  
(as it may bee there are some few) who  
are desirous of our good, and wish vs  
the trueth (as they tearme it) of the ca-  
tholike

*her Inhabitants.*

tholike religiō, yet there are a thousand *Hamans* who will enterprize the ruine of the *Jewish* nation, accuse them to the King of *Persia*, that they haue a religion differing from his; but it is by reason of *Spanish* the hate, conceiued against iust *Mardo-*  
*man.*  
*cey*: thus religion was made a cloake *They pretend*  
for treacherous and intollerable pride: *Religion but*  
thus *Abfolon* the patterne of these court- *intend tre-*  
*chery.*  
ly politicks stooode pittying the *Jewes* *Abfolon a*  
at the courte gate, as though he had de- *right Spani-*  
fired the helpe of their estate, but it *ard.*  
was nothing else but an ambitious hu-  
mour to obtaine a kingdome; in like  
manner deale the *Spaniards* with my ca-  
tholikes so tearmed at this day, they  
stand and court them, and say with *Ab-*  
*folon*, your cause is good, but there is  
none that pitties you: O if I had the go-  
uernement of these things, then should  
*England* obtaine hir auncient religion, *Take heede:*  
and then would followe their former *trust the not.*  
plentie: and thus the Iland that is now  
distressed every day in feare of forraine  
inuaſion, should be able to meete the e-  
nemie

I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you.



*her Inhabitants.*

freedome of their conscience: yet these are neuer so foolish to thinke it possible, to be obtained by your meanes, nor so profanelie wicked, to admit of so bad a cause. And although some few (and I perswade my selfe they are very fewe) may be found perhaps, as either being Atheists without God, or Iewes without Christ, or monsters without naturall affection, who can bee content to pearce my bowels through my Princeesse side, and so let forth my peace, or laie violent hands vpon mine annointed, to make my children to eate themselves: yet resolute thy selfe (and vanelie foolish to resolute otherwise) that the most estranged Englishman from naturall loue, who hath lost his affection by long trauaile, or the loosest christian I harbor, *Note this.* who hath lent his affection to all pleasure, or the most desperate, whom need and extremitie haue made careles, or the deuoutest Catholicke, whom deceiuedlie zeale and conscience haue made religious: shal euer so farre estrange them *Impossible to be so.* selves

*England to all*

felues from an English minde? So much  
be alienated from my long bred loue?  
And lastlie so cruellie to wish me euill?  
That they would open my gates to  
strangers? Prostrate my wealth to the  
*Spaniard*; and exchange my peace for  
most cruell tirannie? Nay if they were  
all in armes and had vowed to admit a  
stranger, and the stranger readie (as per-  
haps you were, 1588.) to accept by po-  
licy, what you intended to keep by cru-  
eltie: yet if I should but frowne as dis-  
contented, & say *quid agitis*? And name  
but *England*, the worthie loue of me, de-  
riued from their forefathers, would so  
farre pearce into the English harts, that  
their swordes drawne forth against mee  
their mother, would speedilie bee shea-  
thed in you their murtherers: for if in  
all ages (sauing onelie in this last, and  
amongst you) faith and promise hath  
been religiouse obserued, to their ve-  
rie enemies, then can you thinke they  
will falsify the same to mee that bred  
them? And as for you who haue surpas-  
sed

*Let the Span-  
niard credit  
me.*

*S. George.*

*her Inhabitants.*

fed the false *punicane* gaining that brand <sup>Fides His-</sup>  
of trecherie, which once was *Carthage* <sup>panica.</sup>  
due, resolute vpon this poynt, that hee  
which punished the faith broken to the  
*Turkes* (at the Popes perswasion by them  
of *Hungarie*) by putting to flight *Sigis-*  
*mund* the Emperor, and slaying Cardi-  
nall *Julian* the Popes Legate (who <sup>God himselfe</sup>  
brought the message) hee I say shall ne- <sup>will punish</sup>  
uer suffer so great an iniurie vnpuni- <sup>traytors.</sup>  
shed, to me their mother. Let me then in  
kindenes perswade you (my deare  
countrie men) that if trecherie be most  
odious, the that especiallie which ouer-  
turneth a Common wealth: if ingrati- <sup>Note this.</sup>  
tude bee hatefull both to God and man,  
then that which is of children to their  
mother: if credulitie bee a fault and ar-  
gues want of experience, then to trust a  
stranger, a false dissembling and deceit-  
full tirant, must reprove vs of great le-  
uitie: loue peace then & loue my peace,  
follow vnitie, but within my walles, for  
if neither inequalitye of condition, emu-  
lation of partakers, nor religion ought

Y

to

*England to all*

*O happy  
England if  
thus happen*

*Discord fa-  
ll to great  
attempts.*

to difinite vs. then this onely remai-  
neth for you that you be vnited with  
loue amongst your felues, tyed with  
affection towards your mother, bound  
with a sacred reuerence towards your  
Soueraigne, and carried with a wife sus-  
pition towards a stranger: so shall pro-  
speritie bee mine inheritance; plentie  
the legacie bequeathed to my meanest  
friends; and England as a citie in vni-  
tie within it selfe: thus shall the vnion  
of *Iuda & Israel* make the people round  
about them to quake and tremble; this  
made *Rome* to cōquer *Africa*; the *Greekes*  
to preuaile against *Xerxes*; & the Prin-  
ces of Europe to preuaile against the  
*Turke* at *Lepantho*: which victorie had  
been farre more glorious, if vntimelie  
discord had not fallen amongst them.  
Thē banish this, vnite your selues, yeeld  
not to gilded colours and false preten-  
ces; whether of religion or of friends,  
or of promise, and especially with them  
whō we know to be our enemies: let vs  
bring against glittering hate - working  
gold,

*her Inhabitants.*

gold, the anciēt magnanimitie of braue  
*Fabricius*, who would neuer bee moued  
by the offers of King *Pyrrhus*. Thus  
ought you couragiously to vnite your  
felues, if you loue the glorie of your  
conquests, the sweetnes of your liber-  
tie, the happines of your quiet, the liues  
of your wiues and children: and if none  
of all these can moue you, yet thinke  
that I weepe for your sake the milke  
that sometime was your foode: that I  
sweate for your feare the bloud that  
bred yours: that I sigh for your cause  
the ayre that gaue you breath. And as  
for my owne part (fillie destressed as I  
am) I haue considered the threatnings  
of God against my subiects liues: the to-  
kens sent me not long since: the won-  
ders that heauen shewed: the lowde-  
speech that the dumbe creatures vsed,  
and all onely for this end, that I fearing  
might perfwade you, and you perfwad-  
ded might make mee to liue without  
feare: yet I relie not so farre vpon A-  
strologically reason, as vpon the strange

*The late  
mortalitie  
more lamen-  
table then  
the losse of  
Egypt  
first borne.*

Y 2

starre

### *England to all*

Since 1572 the Comets that have appeared since: the great thunder 1584. the terrible Earth-quake the first of March the same year: the strange inundations not long since: the fearful mortalitie that hath hewed downe my tallest Cedars, and mowed (as it were) the lesser plants: yet I take these to bee meanes to humble me, least in pride of courage I overweiningly doe love my selfe. And now (daughter) seeing I grow faint, I will cause two to speake in my behalfe, committed to me from eternities before: *Religion* and *Loyaltie*: (daughters) hearken, and these briefly shall speake unto you.

RELI-



RELIGIONS SPEECH  
TO ENGLANDS CHIL-  
DREN.



T what time, Loue *Religion*  
brought mee from E-<sup>brought frō</sup>  
ternities bosome, and <sup>heavenly</sup>  
*loue.*  
commaunded me like  
a Queene to dwell in  
earth, I then easelie  
forefawe (which I now finde) that all *Religion*  
harmes, miseries, wants, tragedies, and <sup>falsly accu-</sup>  
*sed.*  
what else soeuer the worlde deemeth  
hatefull, should bee falsely supposed to  
proceede out of my wombe: and seeing  
I haue now liued so long till I finde it *Religions*  
trew, pardon mee to make mine apolo-<sup>Apologie.</sup>  
gie thus farre, that since the day of my  
first birth, since I first shined weekly in *Religion no*  
these coastes, since the time I was called <sup>true cause of</sup>  
(as I am) by *Religions* name, I neuer <sup>miseries in a</sup>  
*common*  
Y 3 cau-<sup>wealth.</sup>

*Religious speech to*

*Note this.*

*Many ignor-*  
*ance makes*  
*false religion.*

*Superstition.*

*Religion and*  
*superstition*  
*at continuall*  
*warres.*

*In England*  
*many religi-*  
*ous persons.*

caused either Kingdome to be desolate,  
Prince to bee distressed, people to de-  
spaire: or any priuate persō to be male-  
content. In deede I must needes ac-  
knowledge thus much, that at what time  
I was sent into earth, sinfull man by rea-  
son of his immortalitie, desirous of a  
deitie, and not able by the weakenes of  
his vnderstanding, to admit of me, for-  
ged vnto himselfe a false, cruell, irreligi-  
ous, vaine, proud superstitious strum-  
pet, and fondly deluded, tearmed her by  
my name; then seeing her to haue such  
prerogatiue, finding her to rule ouer so  
many subiects, and fearing shee would  
banish mee to Heauen, from whence I  
first came; wee haue been still in conti-  
nuall warres: I found those who haue  
been forward in my cause, who haue  
plentifullie bestowed their wealth to  
maintaine mee, and who haue not fea-  
red to dye to doe mee good. And shee  
perswading, that Trueth sent her to di-  
rect them, hath so much preuailed with  
a great number, that howsoeuer for o-  
ther





*Englands children.*

ther faultes (in the bloodie woundes of  
an afflicted conscience) there is none *Harmes for*  
either so careles without remorse, or so *religion*  
profanely wicked without feare, but *griene not*  
that relenting at the faultes which they *either the*  
haue done, remaine grieued: yet false- *doer or the*  
lie suborned by her meanes, neither the *sufferer.*  
most fatall warres, dragging the infants  
from their mothers breasts, drawing  
them from out of their wombes, slaying  
them in their cradles, rauishing their  
wiues and daughters: waisting their  
countries, burning their houses, defa-  
cing their temples, violating their se-  
pulchers: performing all crueltie: for  
getting all curtesie to those that were  
borne amongst them: nor the ciuill  
flaunders in the time of peace perfor- *Miserable*  
med against them in malicious manner, *blindnes.*  
who fought my prosperitie aboue their  
owne safety: these and such like I say *So doth Ro-*  
(and if ought else can bee thought of *mealdus*  
greater then these are) are done (and *Scotus.*  
without remorse) vpon the false sur- *Superstition*  
mise of true Religion. Iudge now, if e- *is most sea-*  
uer *lous.*

*Religious speech to*

*Among the  
Athenians of  
this age.*

*A false ac-  
cusation of  
religion.*

*Xerxes.*

*Zanites, &c.*

uer creature of my innocencie (and I may boldly stand to iustifie my own integrity) hath had greater cause to complaine of wrong: more iust reason to suspect violence: & more true grounds of vndoubted feare then I, that have sued and am not heard, have lowdely spoken and not regarded, have infinitelie deserved and not rewarded: It is objected against me that the first murder was committed by my meanes, that *Cayn* had neuer laide violent hands vpon *Abel*, if in religion he had not been farre more righteous. And if the *Perfians* had not supposed that to bee profane which the *Greekes* beleeued to bee most holy, *Xerxes* had not come from *Asia* to *Greece*, he had not spoyled their townes, burnt their temples, and done them thousand wrongs (but falsely supposed by my meanes:) Thus discord grew betwixt the *Egyptians* and the *Hebrues*, and both contended which should bee my followers: but if I had not been proudly confronted with a base trumpet, and that

*Englands children.*

that my honour had not been therein Religion im-  
hazarded, wherein it was infamie to cō- patient of an  
tend, I had quietly rested, though with indignitie.  
some disgrace, and had liued contented,  
though with losse of credit. Nay, rather  
giue me leaue womanlike to complain  
(though hopelesse without reliefe) of  
wrongs offered to my perfon; instead  
of offering, I haue suffered; instead of  
doing, I haue receiued fuch manifest  
violence, fuch apparant wrongs, fuch The wrongs  
fecret disgraces, fuch open iniuries: as are infinite  
when I shall make report what I haue which religi-  
indured for my names sake, the red sea on hath suf-  
shall disagree (as once it did) and part a fered for be-  
funder, the Sunne shall be amazed (as ing called re-  
sometimes it was) and stand still: Nay, lig.  
shame shall darken it, and it shall hide it Religion  
felfe to heare the reports but what I hath had cō-  
haue suffered: at first I was put to flie tinuall and  
out of *Ægypt* with fixe hundred thou- great ene-  
sand besides women and children, pur- mies.  
fued by *Cencres* the King of *Ægypt*: and Anno mun-  
if heauen in the middest of my distresse di 1517.  
had not made the raging sea to be a drie God knoweth  
land, how to deli-  
uer his.

Z

land,

*Religious speech to*

land, so many had perished for my sake.  
But then I must needs confesse after a  
tempest came a calme, for humiliation I  
had honor, authoritie for feare, and in  
stead of *Egypt* I possessed *Canaan*: and  
although the power of my almightie,  
from whence I came, casting a snaffle in-  
to the mouth of the red sea, made him  
that he durst not attēpt to doe me vio-  
lence, yet I liued not long in the land of  
*Canaan*, but like a Nightingale, I had  
thornes to awake me, to keepe me sing-  
ing, and soone after false she that tear-  
med her self by my name, caused diffen-  
tion amongst her children, & brought  
me in daunger by my owne followers;  
thē were my fauorers diuided, together  
with *Roboam* and *Jeroboam* their Kings.  
not long after was I with *Israēl* cut off  
from the house of *Dauid*, and first trans-  
ported into *Assyria*, where I remained  
captiue; then with *Iuda* making my ha-  
bitation within *Ierusalem*, I was pitifully  
afflicted, lamentable spoyled, & cruel-  
lie taken by *Nabuchadnessar* the King  
of

*Englands children.*

of the *Affyrians*, who pulled downe her  
walles, burned her temple & the Kings  
pallace, tooke away the golden vessels  
dedicated by *Salomon* to my vse, put out  
*Sedechias* eyes, bound him with brasen  
chaines, and spoyled the bookes of my 2. Chron. 36.  
lawe, which after miraculously were re-  
stored by my Scribe *Esdra*s: thus was I Religion still  
handled by the Greekes, *Alexanders* suc- persecuted.  
cessors ruling in *Syria*, who would haue  
compelled my people to haue yeelded  
to their maners, especially that proud-  
ly famous (and so tearmed) King *Antio-*  
*chus*, who tooke the ornaments and ves-  
sels of the Temple which had been re-  
stored by them of *Perfia*, ruining a-  
gaine *Ierusalem* new built, forbad my  
burnt offerings, sacrifices, and such like, How Gods  
to deface me, and make me basely an enemies seek  
exile to the Greekish ceremonies: nei- to deface all  
ther was I onely thus handled by them, parts of reli-  
but those who at this day are my sworne gion.  
enemies, I meane the Romanes, who ex- The Romans  
tended their Empire into that corner enemies to  
where I dwelt, placing their Images religion.  
Z 2 within

### *Religious power is*

within my Temple setting their Eagles  
over my portals from whence poured  
forth abundance of imprecations: but I  
had been thoroughly wounded before  
that by my own ministers at Circs  
deaths who had given me in great a  
blow, as that in justice for my sake they  
were forced by the *Lords* and to this  
point whenever they abide, they  
are prone practicing base trades, a *U-*  
*furis*, and *Erasing*, made subject to ex-  
treme tributes, paying continued taxes,  
and yet without houses, lands, or other  
possessions, not retaining so much as the  
shadow of a Common wealth, since  
that I cruelly was banished fro amongst  
them: yet notwithstanding all the cala-  
mities which they suffered, could not  
keepe them from contending amongst  
the Christians; they grounded their  
false poynts upon the old Testament, so  
that after al this they were chased from  
*France*, *England*, *Spayne*, by reason of  
blasphemies which they vomited out  
against Christ Iesus: thus the *Mahome-*  
*tists*

*The Lord  
from the  
clouds of their  
punishment.*

*Lord  
Favour.*

*A uniform  
state where  
there is no  
religion.*

*Many of the  
still persist in  
their sinnes.*

*Englands children.*

*tists* tearmed my people Miscreants, & vowed themfelues for their sworne enemies. And howfoeuer these were Religion in great danger amongst her owne friends. harmes, which in the weaknes of my fauourers I could not defende without flight, yet if among Christians themfelues, I had not been purfued with as great hatred at this time, I should not neede to haue complained of wrong: But now seeing bloudie warres haue happened betwixt thofe that were my owne children, where I their mother intreating in moft kind tearmes, was not free from daunger, nor could exempt Content: on the ground of Atheifm. them from fpoyle, let the world iudge, if euer any receiued greater wrong, thẽ I haue fuffered. The *Greeks* and the *Romanes* both contended fo long for my fauour, till both were content to forfake me quite, and to make me perifh if it had been poffible; (for vndoubtedly I had dyed but that I was immortall). Arrius: and fo Herakles grow mighty in the middest of contentions. *Arrius* came from *Ægypt* to sheath his sword within my bowels; he had no foener giuen alarme to affault me, but that

Z 3

multi-

## *Religious speech to*

*Herdiker  
never want  
followers.*

*Constantius  
an Arrian.*

*105 Bishops  
Arrians.  
Holar. con-  
tra Constā-  
tium.*

*Judge if reli-  
gion have  
not suffered  
wrong.*

multitudes flocked vnto him to bee his followers: the East Church wherein I sometime gloried, lost her beautie and her loue in so ample manner, by this meanes, that pitifully to my wrong, *Constantius* the Emperour became an *Arrian*. Iudge if it were not lamentable that I, who sometimes was highlie faoured, accounted of in their assemblies, & wholly relied vpon their integritie, became so distressed by his meanes, that openly to doe me wrong, 105. Bishops became *Arrians*: & if *Alexādrias* Bishops (religious *Alexander*, and learned *Athanasius*) had not encountered his forces with a matchles valour, I had then vtterly perished in those countries: from hence proceeded the fatall calamitie of my fortune: *Councils* against *Councils*: *Confessions* against *Confessions*; *Accusatiōs*, *Defences*, *Banishments*, and cruell *Martyrdomes*. Doe you heare and credit me, and yet for all this take me to haue offered wrong & suffered none? Nay, when I (fearfull) had taken my selfe into the  
inner



*Englands children.*

inner parts of *Europe*, for feare of harme,  
then came the *Perfians*, *Arabians*, *Syrians* Religion no  
where safe in  
earth. and *Egyptians* called *Sarracins*, vnder  
pretence to inlarge the honour of their  
*Mahomet*, occupied all *Africke*, pas-  
sed into *Spayne*, where they conquering,  
from thence came to *Tours* in *France*,  
where if they had been difcomfited,  
of three hundred and sixtie thousand A famous  
victory.  
After King  
of France. per-  
sons by *Charles Martel*, I had then pe-  
rished. After this I began to growe more  
valiant, and my worthie *Godfrey*, with Godfrey of  
Bolloygne. the rest of his Lordes confederate, at the  
instance of Pope *Urban*, drewe from  
*France* an incredible army, passed by sea Whereof  
sweet Tasso  
song. and land after many trauailes, to the  
furthest partes of the westerne coast,  
from *Syria* to the frontiers of *Arabia*  
and *Perfia*, whereby my *Godfreys* true Martyrs all.  
valarous armie I wonne *Ierusalem*: nei-  
ther was there then droppe of blood  
shed, by any Christian in my quarrell,  
which I haue not intreated *Fame* to re-  
corde, to my posteritie: nor was it ei-  
ther lesse vēturous or honorable, which  
*Eng-*

*Religions speak to*

*Religion to  
and to Love*

*Englands first Richard* againſt the  
attempted for my cauſe: and  
ſer I may bee thought to loue  
and to make diffention, yet in  
of the fauour that I found then,  
garde of the kindenes (countrie  
receined at your hands, I haue b  
ling to relie vpon you, and del  
dwell amongſt you: that whilſt  
countries looſing their *Religion*  
loſt their *Peace*, and lacking pea  
*Religion* hath quite periſhed;

*Englands first  
Richard to the  
Peace*

*The happy  
peace of Eng-  
land by this  
first speech*

hath beene a Garden of *Olive* |  
ſenſed with walles againſt violen  
dowed with a Cedar againſt hea  
tred like *Paradiſe* againſt b  
and preferued with true *Loyalty*  
rebellion. And whileſt *Greece*,  
*mon*, and *Athens* haue been at  
*Carthage*, and *Parthia*, with the  
the *French* with the *Italian*, the  
with the *Switzard*: *Africa* with  
the *Turke* with the *Chriſtians*, the  
ans with the *Turke*: the *Zauolian*  
the *Perſians*, the *Muſcouit* with the

*The defence  
of other  
countrie*

*Englands children.*

and the *Tartar* with them both: in the  
meane time *England* for my sake hath *England in*  
found a peace, hath sitten at ease, and *peace.*  
had leasure to looke at their falles. And  
I earnestlie pray (as I haue good cause)  
that peace being my childe, beget not *Peace the*  
plentie, and that be a meanes for to ba- *child of reli-*  
nish mee: for when a countrie through *gion beget-*  
peace hath plentie, and through plen- *eth plentie*  
ty is growne rebellious; then God by se- *that kills*  
ditions and change of state, by inunda- *the grand-*  
tions of floods, by famine, plague, and *mother.*  
such like, he bringeth them (in fauor) to *England note*  
a smaller number, leaft in pride & mul- *this.*  
titude they should growe for to scorne  
mee. Thus haue I some times tasted of  
their harmes, and though I haue liued *In the dayes*  
safe this 36. yeares, that no forraine e- *of our dread*  
nemie was able to roote mee from the *Souueraigne.*  
land of mine inheritance: yet I haue bin  
stil so vnited to your dread soueraigne,  
so in fauour with my valiant champi- *Effex, Wil-*  
ons, that none opposed themselues a- *lowbie, Nor-*  
gainst mee, but first committed treason *ris, Sir Fran-*  
against *cis Vere,*  
A a *&c.*

*Religious speech to*

against her: and though at my intreatie  
she was content to pardō them my fault,  
yet Iustice and conscience both would,  
that they all should perish that with her  
euill. Then howfoeuer (thereby to bee  
dearer to false religion) they make the  
world belecue, that they dye for my  
cause, yet I cannot chuse but I must  
needes renounce them: *Martyrs I haue*  
*had, that haue dyed in my quarrell; yet ne-*  
*uer any that intangled himselfe to destroye*  
*a Prince. I haue wept while tirants haue*  
*slaine my children: yet I neuer saw them*  
*to be found rebellious: giue mee leaue*  
*then openly to disclaime those out of*  
*my fauour, to cancell them out of ho-*  
*nors booke, to renounce them from be-*  
*ing my followers, who haue traitorouf-*  
*ly conspired with my sworne enemies:*  
*who treacherouflic haue intended their*  
*Princes death: who rebelliouslie haue*  
*taken armes against my sides, who*  
*truly haue expected to see mee fall:*  
*those I pronounce, not to bee my*  
*lovers, and I must tell the Worlde,*  
*that*

*A false slan-*  
*der to make*  
*traytors*  
*Martyrs.*

*Neuer mar-*  
*tyr was a*  
*traytor.*

*both a false*  
*traytor.*

*Englands children.*

that they dyed not for my sake. And  
because *Rome* hath lately noted those *Campia.*  
with the title of Martyrs, whom re-<sup>*Martyrium.*</sup>  
bellious malice caused to bee treache-  
rous to their Prince; I must needes bee  
plaine that the world may see, *Rebellion*  
and not *Religion*, *Treason* & not *Trueth*,  
was the cause of their vtter ruine. Cu-  
stome hath made it a thing common,  
& the communitie hath made it a thing  
credible, that the worfe things haue  
masked vnder good names, that singu-<sup>*An vsuall*</sup>  
laritie is tearmed zeale; difobedience<sup>*fault.*</sup>  
freedome of conscience, rebellion, sin-  
ceritie of profession, and open treason  
to be pure religion. Thus was the noto-  
rious rebellion in *England*, (after affect-  
ing the Irish) supposed to be the signe  
of a Catholike trueth, wherein though  
many suffered the iust recompence of  
so foule desert, yet the Queene was mer-  
ciful and forgaue some. How can I then  
make an apologie in their behalfe? how  
can I say, these sauoured religion, who  
fought to roote out the Prince, & land,

A a 2

where

[REDACTED]

[The following text is a series of horizontal black bars, likely representing redacted information or a corrupted scan of a document. The bars are of varying lengths and are arranged in a vertical column.]

*Englands children.*

founded them with a mightie arme :  
then had I (in all likelihood) been banished from this Iland, then had *England* <sup>*I feare to thinke of it.*</sup> perished, her Prince, her subiects, & that most cruelly by the meanes of her own countrimen. These were they, who iustly conuicted of treason, by lawes made 200. yeare since, in the time of *Edward* <sup>*Iusticia Britannica.*</sup> the 3. do openly (but wrongfully) boast that they haue suffered for religion : & yet I may say this, that such as repenting their follie, shewed a sorrowe, and were <sup>*A greater number.*</sup> willing to performe amendment, were pardoned, a thing not to be expected in so great a fault ; although (iniuriouſlie) some of them haue not been a- <sup>*Stapleton. Parsons.*</sup> shamed to say, that neuer religion was persecuted more, then vnder the most vertuous, peaceable, milde, mercifull, & religious gouernment of Queene *Elizabeth* : nay, I can confidently say this, that in stead of punishing those who haue not offended, she hath suffered <sup>*This can not be denied.*</sup> many to keepe their religion stil, to liue without danger of law, and such as haue

A a 3 pro-

*Religious speech to*

*In Queene  
Maries  
time.*

*S'ander is  
newer tongue  
tied.*

*In their libel  
against the  
Engiish In-  
stice.*

professed themselves to be Romish Catholiques; aske but that graue and reuerend father *Nicholas Heath* somtimes Archbishop of Yorke, and Lord high Chancellor of *England*, he must needs confesse (and vndoubtedly would doe it, if he now liued) that he tasted of his Soueraignes clemencie in so great a measure, that those who for religion tearme her to be cruel, are such as seeke by all meanes possible to defame her gouernment. *Pole* the Bishop of Peterborough: *Cutbert Tonstall* a reuerend graue man, *VWhite*, *Oglethorpe*, *Thurlbie*, *VWatson*, *Turberuile*, *Fecknam*, such as all of them had been zealous against mee, yet she pardoned them their liues, because they had not traiterously fought hers: for since the beginning of her raigne to this present day, there is no man able to proue (howfoeuer some haue bin malicious to affirme the same) that Queene *Elizabeth* hath for religion onely, put any to death of the Romish sectaries. It were long for me to repeate



*Englands children.*

repeate (things alreadie sufficientlie  
knowne) wherein *Rome* hath so maliti- Papa pius  
moritur  
quintus, res  
ouslie dealt to suborne her Iefuits, that mira tot in-  
ter pontifi-  
ces, tantum  
quinque fu-  
isse pios.  
from them, this 36. yeares, *England* hath  
had the greateft cause to feare the sub-  
uersion of her whole state. *Pius* the fift  
(vngodly and cruell in this pointe) in-  
tended to free the subiects of this land,  
from their allegiance to their dread  
Soueraigne: a thing abhorring against  
diuinitie, a matter neuer heard of, with  
any of my followers, and hated euen of  
the heathen themfelues, who neuer ta-  
sted of my trueth: to graunt pardon,  
and openlie to auouch it: to subiectes  
and against their Prince, and to Eng- Leaue giuen  
to Parsons.  
Campion by  
Gregorie 13.  
1580. April  
14. to inter-  
pret the bull  
of Pius 5.  
lish men against their owne countrie: it  
is such a faulte as former time neuer  
thought of: the age present dooth ab-  
hor, and shall make thereat the dayes  
insuing to be astonished: & it were too  
lamentable to be thought of, Religions  
superstition should make any so feare-  
full of the Popes authoritie: *Fraunce*,  
howsoeuer thou art now distracted in-  
to

*Religious speech to*

*Henry the 2.  
King of  
France his  
edict against  
the Pope.  
Anno. 1550.*

*King Philip  
once feared  
not the Popes  
Bulls.  
Duke of Al-  
bany with an  
armie a-  
gainst the  
Pope.*

*1527.  
Whom he  
kept in A.  
durance for  
7 months.*

to small peeces, yet in the daies of thy  
second *Henry*, thou hadst little feare of  
the Popes Bulles, when impatient of his  
proude and vsuall vsurping within thy  
territories, thou didst not onely by e-  
dict, decrees, parliaments, proclama-  
tions, disanull his supreamie authoritie,  
but denied him stoutlie those yearelie  
reuenewes, which he exacted out of thy  
dominions. And *Philip* thou which now  
gouernest *Spayne*, and fondly intendest  
to be the worlds Monarch, what minde  
then didst thou beare against the Pope,  
when sending with thy Duke of *Albanie*  
an Armie into the coasts of *Italy*, thou  
spoyledst their towns, destroyedst their  
fields, sackedst their cities, and with thy  
canons girt them within the compasse  
of their owne walles? This shewed to  
the world how little (being offended)  
thou esteemedst of the Popes Bulles:  
and thy father, that worthie *Charles* the  
5. tooke Pope *Clemence* captiue, and the  
whole Colledge of Cardinals, & made  
him pay for his ranfome 400000. Duc-  
kets,

*Englands children.*

kets, & valued the Cardinals at a higher  
rate. And leaft thou which art openlie  
my professed enemie, shouldest thinke  
that *Englands Elisabeth* wanteth presi-  
dents of her countrie, valiantly to with-  
stand, and scornfully to make account Let the Pope  
marke this.  
of the roring of thy Bulles: remember  
but the time of queene *Mary*, (a gra-  
cious Soueraigne if she had not been  
blinded by thy meanes) when thou wert  
offended with her cofin Cardinall *Pole*, Cardinall  
and in disgrace of him sent vnto *Petrie* a Pole offen-  
ded with the  
Pope.  
begging Frier, the Cardinals Hat: she  
crossed thee in thy purpose, and made  
small account of thy great threats. I  
could alleadge the worthie *Henry* the 8. Henry the 8.  
registred in Honors Catalogue to liue shaked off  
the Pope.  
for euer: how couragiously to aduance  
me, he shaked off thy seruile yoake, and  
exempted his subiects from the Romish  
tyrannie. But to let these passe, (as mat-  
ter apparant without prooffe) I must  
needes complaine of two notorious e- Religion: &  
nemies.  
nemies, such, as in the daies of peace,  
haue done me the greatest wrong that

B b

euer

*Religions speech to*

euor woman suffered: and least wondering thou stande amazed how this should be, in the land of knowledge in *Elizas* raigne I meane the prophane Atheist, and the zealous (but falsely) Puritane. And although I poore *Religion* am not so good a states man, that willingly I intermeddle with matters of the common wealth, yet I must say thus much in the true defence of my selfe, that since prophane *Machiuell* hath obtained so much credit amongst the greatest states men of all *Europe*, Atheisme hath perswaded the world of my death, & tolde Princes that there was no religion. Can any counsell bee more pernicious to a Common wealth? more dangerous to a Countrie? more fatall to a Prince? then onely to relie in causes of greatest importance vpon his owne wisedome? to seeme to haue that religion in shew, which he neuer meaneth to imbrace in trueth? to preferre Heathens before me? to ascribe felicitie to fortune, and not to vertue and true religion? And these

*The Atheist  
and the Puritan  
so called.*

*Religion no  
states man  
but of counsell  
with sh.*

*Dangerous  
for a Prince.*

*Machiuell  
confuted.*

*Englands children.*

these with diuers others of like impuritie that prophane Atheist broched vnto the world, which was no sooner drunke by the states of *Europe*, but some of their *States in* kingdomes haue come to ruine. Nay, I *Europe ruinated by* will take vpon me without presumptiō *Machiuell.* to prophesie thus farre, that the grea- *A certaine* test kingdom that *Europe* hath; the most *prophesie.* mightie people that euer was; and the *Note this.* most famous common wealth that euer florished, shall all of them by contemning religion, become desolate. And howsoeuer I will not presume so farre, proudly to make (with *Bellarmino*) temporall prosperitie a note of the true Church, seeing she is ordained to suffer many calamities, vnder the hands of tyrants; yet I dare say thus much, that religious Princes, while confidently in a *Relig. Prin-* good cause, they haue fullie relied vpon *ces doe still triumph.* Gods assistance, they haue notable triumphed ouer all their enemies: thus in the old Testament, *Abraham, Moses, Jo-* Gen. *sua, Gedeon, Samuel, Dauid, Ezechias, Jo-* Exo. *fias,* and the *Machabees,* all triumphed *Judg. King. ouer Machab.*

B b 2

### *Religious speech to*

ouer multitudes of their enemies, because I (howfoeuer contemned by prophane *Machiuel*) was the sole conductor of all their armies: thus almost (as *Mofes* did *Pharaoh*) in these latter times *Constantinus* ouercame *Maxentius*. The like might bee spoken of *Theodosius* the elder, of whome *Theodoret* maketh honorable mention, of many priuiledged fauours he obtained for his true profession: thus in the dayes of *Theodosius* the younger, when the *Sarracins* came to helpe the *Persians*, against whome hee fought, the Angels from heauen (like the starres against *Sifera*) troubled the *Sarracens*, that in *Euphrates* there was drowned a hundred thousand: thus *Julian* whilest he was my friende, made *Italy* & *Afrike* sloop to the Roman Empire, but sodainely perished whē he had reuolted: thus *Heraclius* conquered the *Persians* till hee became a *Monothelite*: I could alleadge histories of these latter times, but being a controuerfie for the true religion (howfoeuer indeede it is with-

*Aug. lib. 5.  
de ciuit. cap.  
25.*

*Cap. 26.  
Lib. 5. hystor.  
cap. 24.*

*Serat. li 6. 7.  
hystor. cap.  
18.*

*Euagr. lib. 4.  
hystor. cap.  
16. Phil. cap.  
11.*

*Englands children.*

without controuersie) I will not doe  
them that wrong, to grounde vpon a  
thing, that is not yet graunted: the con-  
tentions for my cause, and the apish  
pollicies of other countries hath pittifully  
perfwaded them, to become *Athe-* By sundry  
*ists.* I haue encountered the Papists, and Doctors of  
tolde him he mistakes the trueth: his re- great lear-  
ligion is meere erroneous, and whilst I  
went about soundely to perfwade this,  
*Satan* raifed vp the lewde faction of ir-  
religious *Brownists* to tell the worlde, Brownists a  
that *England* was not so happie to haue sect to sup-  
a Church, that titles of honour were port A-  
things impertinent to trew religion;  
that decencie was a matter of ceremo-  
nie; which was no fooner bruted in the  
worlds eare, but the *Papists* began scof- As since  
fingly, to contemne my trueth, and the they haue  
*Atheist* prophanely to thinke there was written in  
none at all. But I am loath to rake in the  
dead cinders of polluted *Machiuell*, whō  
though *Satan* made an instrument to  
disgrace me, and with his dregges dan-

B b 3

gcroullie

*Religious Speeches*

gentle payed the best states: yet  
shall my truth like the sunne from vnder  
a cloud shine clearely in the dayes  
of Elizabeth. And men famousse lear-  
ned in all knowledge (as some have  
done in other places) shall openly shew  
into the world, that such policies are  
not conuenient to a Common wealth, such  
dissimiles, weapons sheathed in the  
world: but true religion; and those  
great powers nothing but Cannon  
first, to undermine (if it were possible)  
the rock where upon I stand. And con-  
cerning the other, which in a forward  
pretended zeale haue desired to cleare  
the mistle that hath troubled the foun-  
taine: to rote out the weedes that haue  
hindered the corne, to trie out the  
droffe, that hath dimed the golde; haue

various (howeuer some of them  
politicklie malicious) stopped the  
fountainne; plucked vp the corne, and  
confounded the treasure of true religi-  
on; so that if they might haue preui-  
led



*Englands children.*

led (as they might haue preuailed if di- *L. Archb. of*  
ligent care had not been taken in this *Canterbury.*  
respect) the Churche must haue withe- *Bancroft.*  
red as wanting springs, the people must *Bilfon.*  
haue famished as wanting corne: and *Sutcliff.*  
religion must haue begged as wanting *Hooker, &c.*  
treasure: In deede iust faultes haue been  
founde, for that many insufficient haue  
taken vpon them so great charge: that  
the Bishops haue paultered their liuings *A true fault*  
in so base a manner, that forgetting *in Englands*  
their honor, they haue seemed to be fa- *Churche.*  
miliar with meane persons: that they  
haue suffered the patrons of their li-  
uings to present any: nay, that which is  
most intollerable, that they haue con-  
fented, whilest patrons haue paused so  
long (a thing needelesse so neere an V-  
niuersitie) to finde one sufficient to take *Cruell pa-*  
the charge, that either a haruest must *trons pittie*  
quite the cost that the patron hath had *the church*  
by many suters, or if it can bee compas- *hath not the*  
fed, it shall bee plainelie temporall. *fauour of an*  
I *ordinarie*  
feele my selfe both too Feeble to com-  
plaine *ward.*

*Englands children.*

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ligent care had not been taken in this *Canterbury.*  
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uings to present any: nay, that which is  
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quite the cost that the patron hath had *the church*  
by many suters, or if it can bee compas- *hath not the*  
fed, it shall bee plainelie temporall. *fauour of an*  
I *ordinarie*  
feeble my selfe both too Feeble to com-  
plaine *ward.*

*Religious speech to*

*Ambr. Catharinus.  
Archiep. Cyprianus.  
Ioh. Molanus.  
Ioh. Boterus.  
Anonymos.  
Petrus Cordus.  
Poffevinus  
Iesuit.  
Learned  
Puritans.*

*By wise authorities and  
learned answers.*

gerouslie poyfoned the best states: yet shall my trueth like the sunne from vnder a cloude shine clearely in the dayes of *Elizabeth*. And men famouslie learned in all knowledge (as some haue done in other places) shall openly shew vnto the worlde, that such pollicies are but cankers to a Common wealth, such discordes, weapons sheathed in the wombe of true religion; and those great promises nothing but Cannon shot, to vndermine (if it were possible) the rocke where vpon I stand. And concerning the other, which in a forwarde pretended zeale haue desired to cleare the mudde that hath troubled the fountaine: to roote out the weedes that haue hindered the corne, to trie out the droffe, that hath dimd the golde; haue vnawares (howsoeuer some of them politickelie malicious) stopped the fountaine; plucked vp the corne, and confounded the treasure of true religion; so that if they might haue preuailed

*Englands children.*

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ligent care had not been taken in this *Canterbury.*  
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haue famished as wanting corne: and *Sutcliff.*  
religion must haue begged as wanting *Hooker, &c.*  
treafure: In deede iust faultes haue been  
founde, for that many insufficient haue  
taken vpon them so great charge: that  
the Bishops haue paultered their liuings *A true fault*  
in so base a manner, that forgetting *in Englands*  
their honor, they haue seemed to be fa- *Churche.*  
miliar with meane persons: that they  
haue suffered the patrons of their li-  
uings to present any: nay, that which is  
most intollerable, that they haue con-  
fented, whilest patrons haue paused so  
long (a thing needelesse so neere an V-  
niuersitie) to finde one sufficient to take *Cruell pa-*  
the charge, that either a haruest must *trons pittie*  
quite the cost that the patron hath had *the church*  
by many suters, or if it can bee compas- *hath not the*  
fed, it shall bee plainelie temporall. I *fauour of an*  
feeble my selfe both too Feeble to com- *ordinarie*  
plaine *ward.*

*Religious speech to*

plaine and too farre spent to remedie  
so great a mischief: faultes will bee,  
yet religion must bee: the daies are e-  
uill, but my charge is not to leaue *Eng-  
land* whilest the world endureth; and if  
I must (being her companion) I will dye  
valiantly in her cause.

LOY-



## LOYALTIES SPEECH TO ENGLANDS CHILDREN.



Fter abundant triall  
of my many fauours,  
giue me leaue not vp-  
brayding you with *Loyaltie vr-  
geth her be-  
nefits,*  
benefits you haue re-  
ceiued, only in equall  
comparifon of other  
countries, to fhew the wealth of *Eng-  
lands* fubiefts, the happines of her land,  
the increafe of her honor, the content-  
ment and the euerlafting fame of her  
three children, and of all thefe obtained  
by my meanes. Now as the religious  
dutie to your Prince, the kind affection  
to your countrie, and the common care  
amongft your felues one towards ano-  
ther, are things not onely requifite for  
your good, but likewise commanded by  
the lawes of God and nature: fo rebel-  
C c lion

## *Loyalties speech 26*

*Loyalties ...  
not able to  
heare of  
treason or se-  
dition*

*And ...  
ding ...  
begot ...  
son.*

*It had ...  
had ...*

lion (a thing which I ~~quize~~ <sup>neuer</sup> heare of  
sedition (a thing which I hope I shall ne-  
uer heare of) are both so capital in  
themselves, and so detested of all ages  
as the people must needs be ~~barbarous~~  
that live to doe them, and the Prince  
land, and people lamentably ~~miserable~~  
that live to suffer them. And if it were  
not that false pretences (an vniuersall cloak  
for the greatest faults) did make men  
thinke they were lesse offensive, neuer  
traitor would intend his Princes death,  
but take punishment of himselfe for so  
bad a thought: & neuer subiects would  
draw their swords in seditious manner,  
but thrust them in the guiltie intrals of  
their owne bowels. And therefore those  
who haue intended to alter, or vsurpe  
the state of their superiours (which we  
call rebellion) not to bee branded with  
to soule a shame; not to be noted with  
to blacke a marke; not to be called by  
to bad a name, haue indeuoured to sig-  
nifie their knifflers practises by a good  
pretence, and haue imployed such for  
the

### *England's children*

the effecting of them as inconstancie  
hath made desires of a change, A-  
theisme cares by what means, Prodi-<sup>it is an</sup>  
galitie beggars and full of want, and ~~it is an~~  
lastly want hath made them to growe  
desperate. The truth hereof is appa-  
rantly knowne, both by ancient histo-  
ries, and of later time, not onely within  
these small dominions, hemmed with  
the narrow seas, but in populous and  
large *Italie*, within the walles of proud,  
stately and commaunding *Rome*, where  
the often Secessions of the cōmon peo-  
ple, to the Mount *Auentin*, may plainly  
testifie that malecontented, they pretē-  
ded a reformation of the rich Nobilitie.  
So that the horrible, strange, and dete-  
sted practises of our time, which some  
most irreligiously haue plotted to ob-  
taine their purpose (being nothing in  
trueth but an ouerflowing ambition, &  
an insatiable desire to rule) haue been <sup>*False preten-*</sup>  
smoothed ouer with the fine tearmes of <sup>*ses in tray-*</sup>  
a common good, of the freedome of <sup>*lors and re-*</sup>  
the people, of iustice, of religion, of re-  
<sup>*bels.*</sup>

C c 2

forma-



*Loyalties speech to*

formation, and such like, things onely mentioned in name, and no further intended, then in a bare shewe: thus delt they, that fought to alter the Romane Empire by lighting the torch of ciuill diffention, (pretending the more easly to winne the people) to free them from subsidies and oppression, which then seemed by their gouernours to lye vpon them, making a shew to the common sorte, that they tendered their case in so great a measure, that they could not longer indure to see them afflicted in so bad a manner. These pretences wee reade to haue been made in *France*, these haue been made in our countrie: and there was neuer either subiect seditious in the Commō wealth, or heretike hatefull to Gods Church, but they desired to be accounted Euan-gelike and Apostolike reformers, their bad conuenticles (Cockatrices to hatch treason) they tearmed by the name of Gods Church, their phantastickall opinions, Gods knowne trueth, and their  
poyfo-

*Note this.*

*Englands children.*

poysoned heresies, the inspiration of Gods spirit. It were tedious & too long to repeate their names, who continually haue flandered Loyaltie with base tearmes, when themselues haue deserued most badly, both of the Church and of the Common wealth. Thus might I with teares remember the wrong that I suffered in the *Northerne Rebellion*, where though the fact was so infamous, as the memorie is odious to this day, yet did they pretend a reforming of religion, a freedome of consciēce, and a bettering of the Common wealth. I passe ouer without speech (but neuer to be remēbred without sighes) the lamentable rebellions made in *Lincolneshire*, the disorder in *Norffolke* by *Ket* & his bad companie, the intollerable boldnes in *Kent* by *Iacke Straw* and his accomplices. These and such like haue laboured to roote me from the place of mine abode, to pull out Loyaltie from the mindes of subiects, to make them offend & thinke there is no fault, to raise a flame that

*As may appeare by the six articles written in french.*

*Sir Iohn Cheeke wrote of Sed. Alex. Nevill.*

Cc 3

**may**

*Loyaltes speak to*

may giue light, whilst the Commonwealth shall burne; to stirre vp these vnder pretence of right, who haue desired to subuert the state of the whole land. *Iosephus* an ancient writer, setting downe the rebellious reuolting, which the Jewes made from the Romanes, vnder colour of rude and vntoward dealing which they found in *Florus* their gouernour, he setteth downe the particular remonstrance that King *Agrippa* made, touching the small appearance of occasion which they had, rebelliously to exempt them from their lawfull obedience: the Iewes replied that it was only against *Florus*, and not the Romanes, that they bare armes: whom *Agrippa* tolde it was easie to say so, but their actions were such as worse could not haue been by the greatest enemies of the Roman Empire: for the townes they sacked, the treasuries they robbed, the houses they burnt, the fields they wasted; neither were the townes, the treasuries, the houses, the fields of *Florus*,  
and

*Florus had  
things haue  
good pretences.*

*No may I say  
to the King  
but trust in.*

*English Translation*

and so that that wrong not be for-  
mances, in which this wronger in  
like manner when it comes time for  
I am not to mention that our faults  
wrong openly was offered to them in  
our country the wrongs that the church-  
ches robbed the inmates from the very  
flame, and not it much feared as the  
very separation of our institutions the  
pretence was only this not a wrong or  
disobedience to the Prince but a re-  
venge and reformation of the oppres-  
sing corruption. And thus lately for I  
must needs touch it whilst I am not  
lewisible, say Lucerne had continued  
with the Spanish Practices to let his So-  
ueraigne, yet strangely her protected  
this, whereunto common sense will  
hardly allow credit, that he only meant  
to deceive them of their coynes, and to  
save her from harme. Can we thinke the  
Spanyard so credulous as in a matter of  
so great importance to credit without  
good cause? Can wee thinke it likely,  
that he, who had concealed it hetherto  
from

*Loyalties speech to*

*Read the  
chronicles.*

from her Councell, ment after to impart it to her Maiestie? These things and manie such (howfoeuer smoothed ouer with a faire shewe) haue been committed by vnnaturall subiects, since her Maiesties raigne, that our very enemies for the state of our countrie, could by no meanes possible haue deserued worse. And howfoeuer the lawe tearme them, not enemies, but simplie as rebels and seditious to their owne countrie, yet they ought not to be honored with the name of peace, nor as subiects any way to be made partakers thereof, vnles the infinitely ouerflowing mercie of their Prince vouchsafe them (vnderferued) so great a fauour. When *Anthony* rose vp in armes against his countrie, he was iudged & condemned worthilie by the Senate to bee a rebell: and when some intended to send vnto him to intreate of peace, *Tully* thought it was most strange & farre differing from the state of the Senate, to affoord a rebel the priuiledge of an open enemye. *France* can testifie

*Mercy vnder-  
ferued.*

*Peace to ene-  
mies but not  
to traytors.*

*Englands children.*

testifie of the like when trayterous subjects vnderferuedly (giue mee leaue to tearme them by that name) haue been so mightie to withstand the King, that he hath sent without cōtrolling tearms as to an openemie: *England* hath not now (and I happilie wish, as I hope it neuer shall) any cause to deale in the like manner. But the time was in the dayes of *Edward* the sixt, when a base pefant so braued the Kings armie, that they vouchsafed them parole, as if *Rome* had sent Ambassador to the men of *Carthage*. But rebellion being the canker of a Common wealth, time hath taught vs by lamentable experience in the warres of *Rome*, *That sedition doth grow by suffering, and that clemencie is rebebellions spurre:* *Rome fell by clemencie to traytors.* which if it had not bin a state so flourishing had not so soone failed. And for *France* in the time of holie *Lewes*, sedition had not been so soone cut off, no rebellion had been rooted out, if the sword had not been made sharpe for to cut them off: for it becommeth a Prince

D d

like

*Loyalties speech to*

*If we can not  
suffer the lie,  
much less  
treason.*

*An exhorta-  
tion.*

*A necessary  
Caution.*

like a good Surgion, to cut off the pu-  
trified parts, least the sound bee infected  
with the like contagion. Furthermore,  
to growd my feueritie vpon the tearmes  
of honor (for *Loyaltie* cā hardly indure  
clemencie towards treason) there is no  
Gentleman (vnles degenerate) that will  
indure the lye of his companion with-  
out recanting: and shall the Prince not  
onely suffer this, but wrongs, damma-  
ges, iniuries, & despitefully at the hands  
of traytors? Then band your selues  
*Honorable Lords, wise Prelates, braue  
Captaines, worthie Gentlemen, resolute  
Soldiers, trustie Citizens, and painful Co-  
minaltie,* that the smallest part of treason  
may not take strength in our time, and  
all of you rather hazard the last droppe  
of your dearest bloud, then by treache-  
rous dealing, the least wrong may bee  
offered to her sacred Maiestie. This is a  
iust quarrel wherein *Loyallie* we are to  
vnite our selues: for loosing but the  
bridle to such dangerous treasons, our  
Prince, our liues, our Countrie, our for-  
tunes,

*Englands children.*

tunes, are all indangered at the same instant. Besides, either to pardon these at home, or fondly to credit those abroad, can bring no other benefite to the land but this, a contempt of our authoritie, a certaine danger to the Princes person, a perpetuall and needfull feare of some new attempts: yet euer I must referue a prerogatiue to my gracious Soueraigne; for gracious *clemencie* a (wor-<sup>*Mercy often*</sup> thie vertue to a subiect) but dangerous<sup>*cruell.*</sup> to a traytor, giues them but leasure to fortifie themselues; graunts them but time to renew their force, & the storme is no sooner past, but there is present feare of as great a tempest. For it is great simplicitie to suppose, & (at least) the extremitie of follie to beleue, that those who are once plüged in the gulfe<sup>*Not safe to*</sup> of treason, and haue throughly plotted<sup>*trust a tray-*</sup> for a kingdomes conquest, can possibly be reclaimed with the greatest kindnes, or let goe their hope, before their liues giue vp the latest gaspe. If a kingdome were so weake, or a Prince so timerous,

D d 2

(as



*Loyalties speech to*

*Charles the  
5th.*

(as almost it was lately in the Realme of France) yet it were easie to proue out of the historie of al times, that traytors & seditious persons, howfoeuer they haue been so bold that they durst in the field incounter the Lords annoynted: yet he whom the scripture calleth the author of victorie and the God of battel, shall make them to flie, when no man followeth, shall cause ten thousand of them to bee chafed with a thousand, and in the day of battell giue victorie to his owne annoynted. The rebelliō that was made in *Spayne* against the Emperour *Charles* the 5. in the beginning of his raigne, together with the happie successe of his Maiestie, may serue as apparant prooffe to confirme this, seeing the seditious faction was foyled, and the most of thē taken captiue. It shall be needles to adde this, that in the daies of Queene *Mary*, when first she came vnto the Crowne, finding the people to be mutinous, and in the land nothing almost but flat rebellion, in shorter time then the space  
of

*Englands children.*

of two moneths, worthely ſhe was conqueror ouer all her enemies: ſuch was the ſtate of *Flanders* 1566. and three yeares after: yet neuer heard of that rebellious fedition preuailed againſt a lawfull Soueraigne: all ages afoorde multitude of examples in this kind: the vnnaturall riot of *Duras*: the wonderfull ſucceſſe of the battall of *Dreux* in *France*, and after of *Poncenaz*: and not to ſtand in particulars of that country, the euent of things hath made knowne vnto vs, that rebellion builded vpon a weake foundation cannot poſſibly ſtand, if the Lord in anger do blow vpon it: neither ſpeake I this to make a Prince more ſeuerer againſt his rebellious ſubiects, to make the Scepter of a King plow vp the bowels of his owne cuntry men, but to ſhew that *Loyaltie* cannot brooke rebellion, that fedition is odious to a good ſubiect, & that treaſon is intollerable in a Commowwealth, if ſe lincked with *Religion*, (a thing hardly to bee hoped for in this bad age) coulde but liue for a

D d 3

ſmall

*Loyalties speech to*

*Some of the  
nobles.* small time safe from treason, if some of  
*Englands* subjects had continuallie re-  
mained in my fauor, then durst I bold-  
ly haue compared with the proudest na-  
tion; and hauing religion a crowne, and  
*loyaltie* as a strong defence, she might  
valiantly haue incountered her stoutest  
foes; for I may confidently auouch (in  
the reuerend securitie of an vpriht  
minde) that excepting treasons blowne  
into the heartes of her subjects, by for-  
*Note this.* raine enemies, *England* hath been as free  
from danger, as far from distresse, in as  
great prosperitie, as euer was Iland in  
so bad an age. Then councillmen giue  
mee leaue, to perswade thus much, that  
the benefite of treason shall bee this, if  
vnhappilie (which God forbid) you ob-  
taine your purpose, your countrie shall  
bee defolate, you your selues shall bee  
feared and suspected of your enemies,  
*A thing la-  
mentable.* and these ample ornaments, garlands  
of long peace, shall crowne your ene-  
mies, for the victories obtained in your  
conquest. I that haue made your chil-  
dren

*Englands children.*

dren dutifull, in whose mindes the name *What loyalty*  
of a *Father* did extinguish disobedience: I that haue made your friendes *hath done.*  
trustie, in whome the name of sacred  
*Friendship* was wont to banish all de-  
ceite: I that haue made your wiues  
in the honorable reuerence of your  
loue, to respect no perswasion of stran-  
gers, thereby wantonly to commit a-  
dulterie; I (I say) intreate you by these  
faours, that being children, in duetie  
you bee not disobedient to so good a  
mother, being friendes by promise (and  
that confirmed with a sacred vow) you  
bee not found deceitefull to so dread a  
Soueraigne: & lastly, being those whom  
nature, religion, time and countrie haue  
matched nearlie for this 36. yeares, with  
so gracious a Prince, that you bee not  
seene to prostitute your bewtie to a  
stranger, to admit *Tarquin* into your  
faour, and (neuer to bee vnpunished) *Plutar. in*  
to violate so great an oath: for what *lib. de exilio.*  
the feuen Ambassadors commended in  
their

*Loyalties speech to*

- their common wealths unto King *Pa-*  
*lomey*, that *England* may iustly vaunt  
she professeth at this day: and where as  
they in three things compared which  
should excell, *England* possessing one &  
twentie, may iustly in comparison out  
strip the proudest that *Europe* hath. The
1. Ambassadors of *Rome* boasted that their  
*Temples were honoured, their governors o-*  
*beyed, and their wicked punished*; may not  
*England* doe it more iustly, if you com-  
pare it with those times? And yet for  
honouring our Temples, I cannot so  
much commend vs, but onely that that  
little honor (which they haue amongst  
some) it is in true sinceritie. The Am-
  2. bassadors of *Carthage* iustly boasted that  
*their Nobilitie was valiant to fight, their*  
*Cōminastie to take paynes, and their Philo-*  
*sophers to teach*: was there euer countrie  
(I except not *Carthage* in his best estate)  
where either the Nobilitie is more va-  
liant, the Cōminaltie more laborious,  
or the teachers more profound, then in  
*England*

*Englands children.*

*England* at this day? The Ambassadors 3  
of *Cicely* boasted that *their countrie* executed iustice, loued trueth, and commended simplicitie: neuer Common wealth I dare auouch, since the first societie that man had, was ruled with more vp-right iustice, was honored with greater trueth, and admired for more simplicitie, then generallie is the state of *England*: the Ambassadors of the *Rhodians* bragged, that the *old men were honest*, the *young men shamefaste*, and the *women peaceable*, and may not *England* iustlie boaste of all these? The Ambassadors of *Athens*, that they consented not that 4  
their rich should be *partiall*, their *people should be idle*, their *gouernours should be ignorant*, and is not all this now as true in *England* amongst vs; as euer it was in *Athens* amongst them? The Ambassadors of *Lacedemon*, vaunted that there 5  
was *no enuie because all were equall*, no co-uteousnes because all were common: no idlenes, because all did labour: and 6.  
E e are

*Loyalties should be*

*Friend of  
the nation*

are not the issue banished from our  
land, howsoever persecuted by a better  
cause? For *England* wasteth cause in her  
selfe, not because all are equal, but all  
friends: *England* is not courteous, not by  
reason of commonitie, but because of  
conscience. And idleness out of this land

*Lords.*

7. *Dans.* The Ambassadors of Sicilie glo-  
rified iustlie in these three (wherein  
*England* is supposed to bee farre shorter)  
that they admitted no strangers, inventors  
of new toys, that they wanted [no] Physicians to  
kill the sick, and advocates to make their  
pleas immortall, wherein I must needs  
confesse (for trueth onely becom-  
meth my talke) that howsoever in the  
abundance of her wealth, *England*  
hath giuen strangers money for very  
toyes, yet it was not for loue of them,  
but to shew the world, that their plentie  
was not debarde from euery stranger:  
for Physicians I may truly say thus, that  
the *Asculapins* honoring *Paduaie* in  
the

*Englands children.*

the aboundance of her skill, is vnequall <sup>*Learned*</sup>  
to make comparifon with vs in *England*; <sup>*Judges, Ser-*</sup>  
and laftly, for our aduocates (a flaun- <sup>*icants, Coun-*</sup>  
der I confesse common, but yet most  
vntrew) men fo learnedlie wife, fo wife-  
lie religious, and fo respectiue ly lear-  
ned, wife and religious, as if *Europe*  
would seeme to contend in this, dout-  
les shee should bee found farre inferior.  
Now these (and benefites farre greater  
then these are) should *England* be rob-  
bed of by *Treason*, depriued of by *Sediti-*  
*on*, and quite spoyled of by *Rebellion*.  
And therefore in the colde quaking  
feare of so great an euill, when as I think  
how treason goeth about to supplant  
my state, to sel my honor, and make me  
perish with one wound, then doe I iust-  
ly with the teares of King *Anchises*  
mourning for the fatall destruction of  
proude *Troye*, or of *M. Marcellus* for  
the citie of *Syracusa*, when hee sawe it  
burne: or of *Salust* when he sawe *Rome*  
ill gouerned: or of King *Demetrius*,  
E e 2 when



*Englands sheild*

7  
1  
I shall Englande vnto  
Chronicles vnto  
and bloodie times  
begin with this  
which I have  
by the Philosophers  
note of the  
have these  
of this land may  
a naked  
to the whole  
he boasted  
of Aesculap  
Englishmens  
boundance  
rowes, that  
ren: and they  
treasures of  
worlde by  
may fit downe  
ed, are the  
like Aesculap  
haue written  
the English  
Be:

*Loyalties speech to*

when hee saw his sonne in lawe slaine in the battaile of *Marathon*. But because mens harts are flintie, and not touched with iust sorrowe, breeding remorse of my fall, let me wish, and wishing obtaine the kinde and brinish teares of *Queen Roxana*, for her husband *Darius*, when he was conquered by the great *Alexander*, or of bewtifull *Cleopatra*, weeping without comfort, that her best beloued *Anthony* was conquered by *Caesar*: but if these teares be prophane, and not befitting to mourne for the wrong, to so vertuous and to so holy an Iland, then let me wish the teares of *Jeremy* for *Babylon*, when it was made captiue, or *Dauids* mourning for his sonne *Absholon*, or olde father *Jacobs* for his sonne *Joseph*: this were tragicke matter, to write of treason, to thinke but of that (yet death to thinke) which they intended, after that day (if euer that then day shoulde enioy a sunne) (being darker then the blackest night) (as I wish and hope that  
it

*Englands children.*

it neuer shall) shall *Englands* wife and  
painefull Chroniclers write nothing  
but warres and bloodie fieldes: *Poets*  
*Lucan-like* begin with *Bella per emathios*  
*plus quam ciuilia Campos*: and then those  
that like the Philosopher *Ariminus*,  
(who wrote of the aboundance of *Æ-*  
*gypt*) haue finelie discourfed of the  
plentie of this Iland, may fit downe, and  
shew a naked, bare, and fleshles *Skele-*  
*ton* to the whole worlde: and those that  
haue boasted (as *Demophon* of the fer-  
tiltie of *Arabia*) shall sigh and say that  
*Englismens* teares hath shedde such a-  
boundance of falte, in the earths fur-  
rowes, that the *Iland* is become bar-  
ren: and they that like *Thurilides* (of the  
treasures of *Tyrus*) haue tolde the  
worlde by trauaile of *Euglands* wealth,  
may fit downe and say, *The rich betray-*  
*ed, are the richest spoyles*: and those that  
like *Asclepius* (of the mines of *Europe*)  
haue written of the welthie bowels of  
the English earth, shall say that then she

E e 3

sen-

*THE SECOND PART*

when we saw his name in laws name in  
the statute of *Marriage*. But because  
these laws are finite and not touched  
with our lawes, breeding remorse of  
my self as we will and wishing obtaine  
the same and should have of *Queen*  
*Isabel* in her husband *Edward*, when  
he was conquered by the great *Alexan-*  
*der* in a few days *Isabel* weeping  
without number that her best beloved  
*Edward* was conquered by *Calix*: but  
if these laws be prophane and not be-  
lieving in manne for the wrong, to so  
serious and in it only an hand, then  
as we will the name of *Frederick* for *Be-*  
*trix*, when it was made captive, or *Da-*  
*vid* mourning in his name *Abfalon*, or  
more rather *David* in his name *Joseph*:  
this were terrible matter, to write of  
reason, to make but of that yet death  
is more what they intended, after  
that day of our that then day shoulde  
show a more being darker then the  
sunne's light as I wish and hope that



*Loyalties speech to*

sendeth forth nothing but smoake, defirous to make an eternall night : And those that haue written like *Dodrillus* (of the praise of *Greece*) (or *Leonidas* of the triumphs of *Thebes*, or *Eumenides* of *Athens* gouernment) shall tell posteritie, that *Treason* in one day depriued England of all these.

*As they account it.*

But least some should think, that then my sorrow should be greater thē cause why, and that the losse were nothing which *England* should haue by so foule a sinne; giue mee leaue but in plaine tearmes to set forth a naked trueth, and diuiningly to tell, what would bee *Englands* miserie at that day: M. *Crassus* the renowned Romane, valiant in warre, & wise at home, taking *Syllas* part against *Marius* and *Julius Cæsar*, that was then Dictator, who being taken prisoner spake a loude, *I weigh not my harme, but the pleasure that Crassus shall haue to heare this newes*: And amongst other, surely this will not bee the least that *Spayne* should

*Tell it not in Gath, &c.*

*Englands children.*

should heare but of this harme, the  
Court which is now (like the eight  
*Spheare*) beautified fullie with fixt stars,  
should be nothing but like the ayre full  
of *Meteors*, sending downe lightning,  
thunder, raine, haile, and such like: and  
then should ancient *Cato* that in 86. *The ancient  
and graue  
counsellor.*  
yeares was neuer seene to violate gra-  
uitie, so much as by a smile; who was  
wise in speech, sweete in conuersation,  
in correcting seuer, in presents liberal,  
in diet sober, in promise certaine, and  
lastly inexorable in iustice: leaue the  
Court at the age of 55. yeares, and be-  
take him to a little village neere *Pilena*,  
where the pasinger might write vpon  
the porch of his poore cabinet, *O felix  
Cato tu solus scis viuere*: O happie *Cato*  
thou onely knowest how to liue: then  
should *Lucullus* one of the valiantest  
Captaines that *Rome* had after the warre *The misery  
of captaines.*  
against the *Parthians* (seeing the com-  
mon wealth troubled with the ciuill fa-  
ction of *Sylla* and *Marius*) from *Rome*,  
betake

*Loyalties speak to*

speake it; haue intended to take a sacred Prince from a holie land: he offered violence to the place where *Apollis* was borne, but these not to the place, but to a personage, farre more sacred then *Apollis* was. But let not deep scanning wisedome be offended that I compare her to *Apollis*: for whatsoever wrög was offered to that, which truth, or ignorance, deemed in earth the dearest, that is contained in the treasons, which haue been intended against our dread Soueraigne; who all this while standing like a rocke of pearles (in the assured confidence of Englands watchman) is not danted to see her enemies to bee so malitious. After that *Philip* of *Macedon* had conquered the *Athenians*, hauing Philosophers at supper with him he propounded this Question, *What was the greatest thing in all the worlde*; one answered the *water*: another saide the *sunne*: another saide the *hill Olympus*: another sayd the giant *Atlas*: another  
sayd



*Englands children.*

saide *Homer*: but the last and wisest answered (*nihil aliud in rebus humanis magnum, nisi magna despiciens*) nothing is great in humane things, but a minde that contemneth great things. *M. Curius*, whē the Ambassadors of the *Samnites* offered him golde in great abundance, answered, I had rather bee Lord ouer you, that are Lordes ouer it, then onely possesse it felse: and did not this speech of his deserue better then the action of *Lucullus* to rob the *Spartans*? Did not *Crates* gaine more glorie by casting his riches into the sea, then King *Nabuchadonozor* for taking the treasure out of the temple? Is it not more honor for the rich *Indians* to contemne their golde, then for the greedie *Spaniards* so to couet it? which if it were not vsed to the preiudice of forraine princes, all countries could wish him to bee glutted with it, and that the *Iberian* sands were like vnto golden *Tagus*, and their little riuers, like vnto *Pactolus*

F f 2                      streames

*Loyalties speech to*

*A happy  
fight.*

*4 King. 15.*

streames; but since he makes it the si-  
new of his warre, and his warre no-  
thing but an intended triumph ouer  
the greatest Empyres; it behooueth  
Princes to crosse his *Argolies*, that goods  
lewdlie gotten, may not be worfe spent:  
but whilest these ruinating ambitious  
plots, grounded vpon treason, haue ri-  
sen vp like a Pyramides in the greatest  
Kingdomes, *Englands* Soueraigne hath  
sitten confident, without presumption,  
conquering without crueltie, and victo-  
rious without contention. Whilest in  
the meane time *Sedition* shalbe ruinous,  
*Rebellion* shall haue an end, and *Treason*  
shall be fatall to him that thought it: for  
when heathen writers haue flatteringly  
perswaded that treason may haue suc-  
cesse, then shall the Scripture say, *That*  
*neuer traitor was mentioned and left vn-*  
*punished.* *Sellam* conspired against *Za-*  
*chartas* the King of *Israel*, and slew him,  
but within one moneth after, hee him-  
selfe was slaine of *Manahem*: *Peka* con-  
spired

*Englands children.*

spired against *Pekaim*, and after was  
slaine of *Oseas*, and *Oseas* the last king of  
*Israel*, was taken bound and brought  
into *Affyria*. Infinite might examples  
bee in this kinde, who vpon false per-  
swasion haue risen vp against the Lords  
anoynted, and haue perished like *Iabin* *Iud.* 4. 23.  
in the day of battaile, and wee may sing  
with *Deborah*, *They fought from heauen e-*  
*uen the starres in their course fought against* *Iudg.* 5. 20.  
*Sisera: the riuer of Kishon swept them a-*<sup>21.</sup>  
*way, the auntient riuer, the riuer Kishon, O nigh steede.* *So the Spa-*  
*my soule thou hast marched valiantlie.* Hi-  
therto haue I been tossed in the dange-  
rous warres of swelling *Treason*, where  
iuft occasion was offered to speake of  
fundrie by name, famous to the worlde  
for such foule offences: but I am loath  
to rippe vp the hatefull memorie of our  
countries enemies, whome though ray-  
ling brainficke *Romoaldus* the *Scot*, seem *In confutat.*  
to cleare by his fond defence, yet it is so *Summarij*  
*Rat.*  
friuiolous, idle, without learning, rea-  
ding, or experience, as I can tearme it

Ff 3                      nothing

*Loyalties speech to, &c.*

*Against my  
L. Keeper &  
others.*

nothing but *Catilius* oration against  
*Tullies* Consulship: and when profanely  
by his defence hee hath encouraged  
traytors the best hee can: yet then with  
indifferent and wise readers he shall be  
deemed foolish, and *England* flourish o-  
ver all her enemies. I am willing Coun-  
trimen, to speake more largely vnto  
you, but fearing to be troublesome, I  
onely desire but this favour, that accor-  
ding to the Hon. Examples of your fa-  
mous forefathers, *Loyaltie* may dwell  
in the heartes of English  
subiects.

*The conclu-  
sion.*

*FINIS.*

*A Quest of Enquirie,  
by women to know,  
Whether the Tripe-wife were trimmed  
by Doll yea or no.*

*Gathered by Oliuer Oat-meale.*



*Imprinted at London by T. G. and are to be  
sold in Paules Church-yard.*

1595.





Oliuer, if your name be Oliuer, by your leaue  
a cast, for I must shout in betweene the doore  
and the wal, that is shuffle a letter in betweene  
your title and Pamphlet: which Letter was directed to  
be left at the two fooles at London bridge: and for my  
hart I cannot finde the signe. Now since your Pam-  
phlet lackes both a Pistle and a Patrone, I thinke this  
letter wil fit ye for either, and by wandring among ma-  
nie, happen at length into the right owners hands. It  
followes at auenture.

*To Simon Huff-snuff the terrible Book-tearer,  
& furious defacer of the Tripe-wiues effigies,  
peace offered with cap and knee, to preserue all  
papers from like extremitie.*

Haught minded, and hot spirited Simon, I salute ye.  
Understanding your valarous assaults against *The  
Tricking of the Tripe-wife*, in sundrie places: I could  
but commend your forwardnes: and praise your adui-  
sed opinion vpon the first sight, both of the Author that  
made it, and of them that neuer heard of it before your  
felse: twas well done, you shall finde *Castalian* of my  
minde, that of such swift censurers hath this sentence:

*A fooles bolt is soone shot,  
Ad penitendum properat, cito qui iudicat.*

Tut, what tell I you of repentance, proceed, pro-  
ceed, your neighbor Nichol and you may answere any

A 2

thing

thing you can. By your case it is a little, and while I  
 take care how much money you get with your eyes,  
 I will not let you take it with your little thumb  
 up with your nose. I will make valuably upon  
 my people, & yet I will not let it cause argument, and  
 so I will.

A want below power became excellent as her  
 Simon was a wealthy and wise man and his other  
 noblest of his noblest and noblest concept, that  
 they saying us your mind is your publick test at  
 him and us are not wise. The most of them whole  
 your former it was to make as it had been great pit-  
 ty to put it among a couple are most Schöller-like  
 gentlemen, and one of them generally becometh of all  
 that saying have experience to publish any thing, &  
 at this time a perfect of a wonderful place according  
 to the lastest custom of this honorable City. Now  
 which way is your opinion is best to prevent the writ-  
 ting or publishing of any more say: shall he reconcile  
 himselfe to those that were the former fathers, & give  
 good words, because his widow hath been notorious-  
 ly adulterous? Or shall he run vp and downe the town,  
 with fusts, and heighs, and fillops, and trickes, ac-  
 companied with some such wife-akers as himselfe, (Be  
 not offended Simon, though you be his companion) re-  
 minding his betters, and abusing his equals. The ex-  
 ample needs no application: and for answer your  
 neighbor Nichol took his last course. For I haue  
 heard him that trickt the Tripe-wife sweare, till her  
 husband abused him, and your selfe consorting with  
 those Trickes misused his whole companie, the Ma-  
 thers, especially one of them, in kindnes and reuerence  
 of



that honourable name yee vſde, vouchſafing both to accompanie and counſell you for your owne good: whoſe good wil you rewarded with reproches: but they that touch pitch ſhall be defiled, and thoſe that pleaſure ingrateful perſons vnthankfully requited. He proteſts before God, that the Maſters of his Companie, are vtterly ignorant of his proceedings, and for ought hee knoweth are at him offended. He appeales to all the worſhipfull Companies in *London*, eſpecially to thoſe of whom your ſelues are free, whether ye haue not done the parts of intemperate idiots, to abuſe men in authoritie without cauſe: and proteſts, had he been but a waterman, as he is a profeſſor of the moſt noble Science of Printing, hee would not haue ſuffered the abuſe of his ſuperiors. He repenteth not anie thing that he hath written, but is onely forrie that he is by an honorable perſonage miſtaken: but doubteth not ſhortly to proue how you haue abuſed one verie nere him. He ſweares that where he hath been a mortall enimie to all Ballad ſingers, he will neuer inuaigh againſt them more, if they will ſing at your windowes a new Jigge, termed *Anne Tripes*. Conſider neighbor *Simon* the contents, to waſt paper be pitifull, and learne patience: keepe a good tung in your head, leaſt it hurt your teeth. Farewell *Sim*, and commend me to your ouerthwart neighbour.

*Yours to uſe, when ye know how to  
uſe your ſelfe. D. D.*

A 3

*An*



*An Eglogue lovingly begun and unluckely ended  
betwene the Tripe-wife, and Trickes  
her husband.*

*Trickes.*

*S*WEEET friende Souse-wife on this fraile of figs,  
Dishie of dishes that doe our fortunes hate :  
Lying at us with Ballads and with ligs,  
Enough to make kinde love vnkinde debate.

*And while we carol of our discontent,  
With strained notes, like scritch owles yrkesome crye,  
The mowing reuer tells our lament  
Shall lend her lewd confused harmonie.*

*Tripe-wife.*

*As now we sit in a fence-tube shade,  
Ouer our heads of tripes a canopie :  
Remembrance of my past ioy-shrining trade,  
Would somewhat ease my present miserie,*

*But since I trotted from my trotter stall,  
And fige about from winks fete neatly drest :  
I finde no pleasure nor content at all,  
But am distressed, despised, abused, distressed.*

*Trickes.*

*Trickes.*

*Why here are sweetes, sweete Loue, for sent and tast,  
Frute from the Straights, Spaine, Candie, Barbarie,  
Indian Tobacco, humors moyst to waft,  
Thou knowst I haue a pipe for thee and mee.*

*Succades and comfets, harts-help Cynamon :  
Pepper cold in the maw, hot on the tung :  
Seny to purge, health-keeping Balsamum,  
And Mace, to make thy vizard smooth and young.*

*Tripe-wife.*

*Out upon all this trash, your drugs, your spice,  
Twere well if I had neuer seene your house :  
You tearme my visage vizard, goodman vice :  
But I was yong, faire, neate, when I sold sowse.*

*Trickes.*

*Thy tripes were yong, thy neates feete fat and faire,  
Thy sowse was sweete, and all these longed to thee :  
Thy selfe wert wythered, old, leane, meager, bare,  
Yet thou and they were both beloude of mee.*

*But neither thou nor they may make compare  
With me or mine, therefore contend no more :  
The Butchers offals were thy sweetest ware,  
Mine, of farre Kingdomes are the wealthy store.*

*Tripe-*

*Tripe-wife.*

*Accurst was I to leaue the Butchers fees,  
How base so ere, they brought in golden gaine,  
The mistres Tripe-wiues name by thee I leese :  
That losse, their lacke, I ceaselesse doo complaine.*

*Trickes.*

*Accurst was I to haunt the pudding house,  
Where swine facde beautie onely sate in pride :  
Curst be the chitterlings, the tripe, the sowse,  
And curst my selfe that did not all deride.*

*Tripe-wife.*

*What doost thou cursse my trade ? be this thy paine :  
Run bootles madding, raving vp and downe :  
All helplesly gainst jygging rymes complaine,  
Let euerie Ballad-finger beare thee downe.*

*Trickes.*

*Saist thou me so, thou Tripe, thou hated scorne ?  
Goe swill thy sowse-tubs, loathed pudding-wife :  
My brother Huffsnuſ and my selfe haue sworne,  
Spite of thy cares to lead a pleasant life.*

*With this they part : and so the Eglogue ended,  
Tripe was with Trickes, and Trickes with Tripe of-  
fended.*



*A Quest of enquirie of twelue good, honest, and substantiall women, vpon examination of certaine persons, whether the Tripe wife were trimde or no.*

**I**S it euen so neighbor *Nicholson'*: now in good sadnesse I am sory for your mishap, that a marriage accomplished so hastily, should be repented so suddenly. Yet man, keepe your owne counsell, and feare not, all will be well enough I warrant ye. You alleadge in your letters, what a blemish it is to your credit, and withall, what an inward vexation of minde you are perplext withall, when your friends cast in your teeth your marriage with the Tripe wife, what a beastly filthy slut she hath beene, and still is, without any hope of her amendment. Yet all this is not so grieuous to ye, as the bad reportes that flie abroad of her, that not contenting her selfe to be cosoned by a notable drab, she must afterward, or at the same instant, be trimde by that new vpstart Barbar, who instead of Siffers, was glad to vse a paire of sheeres, and for want of a chaire, such as men vse to sit in when they are trimde, she must aduance one foote vpon a Treuot, and make the other leg standing foolishly by, accessarie to the others intollerable follie. O world of iniquitie, where are womens wits': that make no difference betweene their owne secrets, and a Cowe heele or a Tripe, and because their education hath onely bene to dressing of the one, therefore they must needs make a triall of trimming the other.

B

For

For your sake good neighbour, pittying your dayly vexation, and according to my promise when we met last at Ratcliffe: I went to the place you wot of, where (though it was somewhat to my cost, yet nothing is ouer deere in regarde of a friend) I made meanes to get in, euen so soone as the Quest of women were newly calde together, and before any of the persons to be examined were admitted to answere. When seeing how orderly they intended to proceede, and that heereby a perfect resolution might ensue, both for my selfe and you: I drew forth my writing Tables, and getting close into a corner noted downe every thing so neere as I could, which now written more at large, then in so small a roome I could comprise, I haue sent ye by my seruant *William*, who hath further instruction beside to acquaint ye with, whereof I desire ye to haue an especiall care.

First, *Margaret*, not your wifes daughter, but a by-blowe (as is imagined) of your predeceffours, was called before the women.

Then mother *Messingham*, the old true peny for trimming of a Tripe, then *Alice* and *Jone*: *William* should haue bin there, but was not, marie *Richard* very honestly came in, and defended the cause very substantially, so did Mistresse *Rose*, and the partie with the golde Ring on the forefinger. The intergatories for examination, were these that follow.

1 *Imprimis*, whether such a woman, named *Doll Phillips*, came to the dwelling house of the Tripe wife at such a time, naming the moneth and day.

2 Secondly, what talke they had beneath together, and whether she brought with her a letter or no.

3 Third-

3 Thirdly, who went vp the staires with them, whether any body, or themselues alone.

4 Fourthly, how long they taried aboue together, and whether any sheeres were cald for or no, or whether they had them ready aboue in the Chamber.

5 Fiftly, whether they knew them to be vfed or no, for taking away of haire from her head, or the other vnseemly place.

6 Sixtly, whether the Tripe wife had so many futers as *Doll* speakes of, to the number of nineteene or no.

7 Seauenthly, whether they knew the man that had beene so bolde with the Tripe wife, that threw her on the bed, kist her, and did, or would haue done *aliquid amplius*, because he was the furthest in her bookes.

8 Eightly, whether the Capon and Turkie (by any of their knowledge) was sent to the King and Queene of Faires or no.

Other questions were demanded afterward, but not with such vrgencie as these, because you know these were most materiall, and (as the case stood) were most necessarie to be knowne: yet will I tell ye what the other were, when I come to speake of them as they happened.

*Margaret* stood laughing, holding her hand before her mouth all the while the articles were read, wherupon, one of the women sharply reprov'd her after this manner. What *Margaret*, maide (if ye be) ye shewe small ciuilitie, regarde yee not where yee are: you imagine belike, that ye are in the Queenes head in Pater noster rowe: ye made a wife nights worke there, did ye not, when (about you) a man was stabd

B ii

so

so farre into the backe, for shame, be more modest, else this (and your other trickes) will vtterly marre your marriage, if yee linc to be worthis of so honorable a calling.

The woman had no sooner vttered these speeches, but *Margaret* blushing (for she hath a little grace yet left her) stood very demurely, making courtisie at every woord, and promised to answere every article truly, according to her knowledge, and thus she began.

Upon the day you name, she whome you terme *Doll Philips*, came to my mothers house, in the habit of a countrey woman, saying she was sent from one maister *Grace* in Essex; a Gentleman professing the lawe, and a very familiar friend of my mothers, for whose sake she was the better welcome, and much talke passed betweene my mother and her, because she shewed her selfe so perfectly acquainted with *Maister Grace*. A letter she brought indeed, which being read, she told my mother, that shee had more weighty matters to confer with her on, which made my mother take her vp the staires with her, not admitting any but themselves to go with them. The time of their tariance there, was not about three quarters of an houre at the vttermost in all, which space I heard no Sheeres cald for, neither were any caried vp to them, nor knowe I whether any were about in the Chamber or no.

Now concerning your demaunde for vsage of the Sheeres, truly I am perswaded it is vtterly vntrue, and onely rumoured abroad to defame my mother. For though she was desirous to haue the spurialles that were lost, and which I haue often times seene when my father was aliue: yet I haue a better opinion of my mother then so, that she would not graunt to enioy them  
by



by any such a bad meane. Yet age now a dayes in these latter dayes, shewes themselues so simple oftentimes, that one can hardly answer for them in matters of more importance, therefore I referre yee in this case to olde mother *Mesingham*. she hath beene most inward with my mother, and therefore in such a doubtfull cause can best resolue ye.

That she had nineteene woers, I am not able to stand directly vpon the iust number, but questionlesse I imagine she had (from the beginning of her widdow-head) rather more then one fewer, for I tell yee, my father left her that which made her lookt after, and not so much but olde *Saunders* the Sergeant, became a lustie futer to her: but neuer I thinke was widdowe so washt in sack, Sugar, and good drinkes. I warrant there are some that yet sit and thinke on their lauish expences, for my mother was outwardly kinde to all, but inwardly enclined to thinke well of no one, for if she could not deeply dissemble, there are liers abroad, but I name no body, in regarde she may now make amends for that fault.

Nowe that there was one more speciall in her fauour then all the rest, we in the house haue diuerse times imagined somewhat, mary could neuer perceiue any outward token to be noted: but the woman who pretended cunning to her, threw forth very vnmanly speeches of the matter, that vnder shrifte (as it were) she disclosed the man to her, which if she did, she was not so wise as I tooke her for: my self am but a young wenche, and yet if I intended to bestow such a token of my fauor on any one, mine owne mouthe should neuer be the trumpet of my shame, but rather as I had offended fondely, it should be lockt in my bosome the more secretly, for let the worlde imagine what they list,

B iii

when

when they know nothing, I haue both the winde and water side of them.

As for sending the Capon and Turkie to the King and Queene of Fayries, thats best knowne to *Doll* and my mother, for the matche was closely made betweene themselues, and whether on any such condition or no, I am not able to say: but sure I am our maide caried them with her, and deliuered them to the woman, ere they came halfe way to the king of Fayries house, for they say his dwelling is at Paddingtan, and the maide was discharged of her burthen in high Holborne.

This is all I can deliuer good women, and (vpon my maidenhead) I haue told ye as much in these matters as I am able to say: for I had more minde of other busineses for my selfe, then either to regarde my mothers coufenage or wooing.

Call in mother *Meftingham* (quoth the Cryer) and she will resolue yee thorowly in these cunning affaires.

She being come before the Quest, whimpering and making courtesies downe to the ground at euery word: desired she might be no accuser of her good olde mistresse, for she knew nothing in these matters, and therefore could say little, but being commanded to proceed in the Articles, she pleaded ignorance to all but one, and the knowledge she had in that one was but by bare reporte, neither therefore (quoth she) builde not vpon the trueth of my words, for I receiued them at the second hand, and few things (ye know) are mended in the cariage. It is (quoth she) concerning her number of suters whereof I am to speake, and which of them receiued most assurance of her kindnesse:  
then



then thus (after *Dols* owne words) will I tell ye what I heard.

When the coofening Drab had perfwaded my mistressse, that she could helpe her not onely to the golde knowne to be lost, but a great deale more said to be hid in the house: shee demaunded such a request as hath beene spoken of, for by the helpe therof she must effect the coniuration, otherwise shee was not able to proceed any further: but by the faith of an olde woman, I thinke no such conference past betweene them, at least I am sure my mistressse sweares the contrarie, and I tell yee I will not distrust her wordes for more then she is worth.

Come mistressse (saith *Doll*) I knowe one kist yee on Christmasse Eue last past, when your hat fell into the Sowfe tub, I know yee gaue a good fellow a King, with seauen Diamonds in it, and the King I likewise know ye haue this day receiued againe: so albeit I am able to say who the man is you do most affection, and can tell therein perhaps more then you imagine: yet must you your selfe reueale his name to me, how he kist yee at the beds side, vntide your hose-garter, and elected ye for his owne with the best testimony of good will.

She saith, that my mistressse resolude her in all these, which if she did, (as I will neuer imagine her so simple, or that at any time she would make so slender reckoning of her reputation:) I must needes blame her folly and great indiscretion, which doubles the penaltie of the offence so carelesly committed.

Thus much I will confesse good women, that my mistressse had good store of futers, among whom were diuers of good credit & esteeme, whose purfes launcht  
out

out liberally, and nothing was reputed too deere or daintie for the widdowe: but that I saw ill demeanour offered in any one of them, or any such wanton humor in my mistresse, I neither can or will say for all the worlds good.

Many have beene falsely chargde with matters, as now perhaps my mistresse is at this time: but I leaue all to him to censure, that knowes best whether these reports are true or no, and so take this as the vttermoſt of my knowledge.

The rest being examined, and able to say little or nothing to the articles, the women went alone by themselves awhile, and finding every thing so apparant, that they were not long to be stood vpon: they returned that the Tripe wife was never trimde, yet to prevent the worst which afterwards might ensue, and as women that would not endaunger their credits, they wrote downe vpon their bill *Ignoramus*, whereuppon, the sentenec was deliuered in this manner.

First, because the Tripe wife had fallen into this wonderfull ouersight, and thereby had run into so many harde opinions: all her other suters (ashamed of their former foolish affection, to fancie such an inconstant woman, of so durty a trade, and in so stinking a place) vtterly giuing her ouer: she should thence be sent to London bridge, and there be married to him, that had more then a moneths minde to Tripes and Tril-libubs.

Lord how glad was I, when I heard the game go on your side, when I remembred what a tall seruitor you had beene all her wooing time for her: your hard fortune at M. *Graces*, where you had so slender entertainment, how you walkt in your Jerkin and tawnie



tawney veluet hose, to view *M. Hubbards* hoppes, when by that meanes you got a bidding to dinner, yea euen the best place at the boord, namely, to sit iust before your louing mistresse, where all amorous discourse was faine to passe betweene ye in the Cup, for further libertie ye were not admitted. But aboue all, I commend your shorte and sweete enstruction giuen her at the window, pinching her by the finger, and bidding her looke to her selfe, for she was in danger to be stolne away, and all your market marde. And in faith the merrie night at Epping was worth gramercie, when the Gentleman your riual sapt in your company, and had a priest ready, if neede should so require. Beleeue me neighbour, you had great reason then to be afraide: yet more then *Hercules*-like, you valiantly held out, in despight of *Philaſtorgogh*, the bottle of Sack, and all *Richards* words, which renownes ye to posteritie, for an vnconquerable wooer, and verefies on your behalfe that ancient verse,

*He loou'd Tripes as his life,  
Therefore he hath the Tripe wife.*

Oh that I were acquainted with some excellent wit, who in liueliest colours could decipher downe your heroycall fortunes.

*My stile is all to[o] blunt and bad,  
To write of such an active lad,  
That brought the wooers all to baye,  
And caried the Tripe wife quite away.*

C

Thus

Thus haue I sent ye all the proceedings of the Iurie, and therewith (according to your request) my opinion of that blessed night, when you made such passage to the purpose, as the next morning you had the fruition of all your labours, I meane the Garland of your bridging day, to the disgrace of al the other futers, and your owne eternall commendation for euer. But first I pray ye read this Dittie, which was deuised by a dere friend of yours, Master *Jefferay Kexon*, in defence of your wife so much wrongd and in applauding of your rare conquest, the like being neuer heard of since the great Conquest.

*A ligg for the Ballad-mongers to sing fresh and  
fasting, next their hearts euerie morning, insted  
of a new hunt-sp, to giue a good morrow to the  
Tripe-wife.*

O Neighbour Tripe-wife,  
my heart is full of woe:  
That cousing Doll the Iugler,  
should iumble with you so.

I that am your poore neighbour,  
had rather spent a crowne:  
Then haue ye thus defamed  
by boyes about the towne.

Abroad in euerie corner,  
the Ballads doe report:  
That you were trimd vncomanly,  
and in most shameful sort:

By standing on a Tract

*to heare what she could say :  
 She lopt ye of [f] a lowers locke,  
 and caried it away.*

*Alas were you so simple,  
 to suffer such a thing :  
 Your owne maids fit and mocke ye,  
 and euerie where doth ring,  
 The trimming of the Tripe wife :  
 it makes me in a rage,  
 And doubt least that the players  
 will sing it on the Stage.*

*I am sorrie for your husband,  
 alacke good honest man ;  
 He walkes about, yet mends not,  
 but looketh pale and wan :  
 That where before he vaunted,  
 the conquest he hath got :  
 He fits now in a mammering,  
 as one that mindes it not.*

*A number doo imagine,  
 that he repents his marriage,  
 And gladly to the shambles,  
 would send ye with your carriage ;  
 For all the carts of household stuffe,  
 that came to London bridge,  
 Nere pleasd him so, as this one greefe  
 doth rub him on the ridge.*

C 2

If

*If gold bring such a hart-breake,  
 Ile none I thanke ye I:  
 Tis shame it should be spoken,  
 and if it be a lie.  
 But would he be aduise by me,  
 if it be true or no:  
 I would turne her to her Tripes againe,  
 and let all matters go.*

FINIS.

I. K.

Now all good Ladds, to whose reading this present Jigge shall come, I would not haue ye mistake my meaning in the Song, that ye should goe about the streetes singing it, or chaunt it at her doore, ere she be vp in a morning. No, God forbid, that would but breed domesticall disquietnesse, and if man and wife should happen to fall out about it, I (not knowing how neere the Tripe tub stands) might bring him in more danger of Gun-shot then I am aware of. Therefore I pray ye conceit it after my owne entending, that is, a Sorrowfull Sonnet for euery friend of his to meditate on, least their fortunes should proue so monstrous as his, and they run into perill of hanging themselues, vpon so extraordinarie a conclusion.

*Heere followeth the rare atchieuement of the widdowe,  
 from her house behinde the shambles, how she was  
 conueyed thence to London Bridge, and made a  
 Bride vpon a very short warning.*

Yea marie Sir, now ye come to the matter I long  
 to



to heare of, by reason of the diuers reports bruted abroad thereof, and whether it were so heroycally acted, as some haue heard it from his owne lippes. Was it possible, that she (hauing such honest well willers and friends, at home at her house at dinner) could chuse no other time to slip away, but euen at such a time, thereby to discredite her selfe? Was her coloured excuse to buy a hat and an apron, and falls it now out so, that she bought a husband? O world full of falshood, O women most deceiptfull, when ye are least suspected. But went she then directly to the Bridge or no? No, she went not then thether, but one of her Sisters, counterfetting a sudden sicknesse, the other (beeing the fatter of the twaine) was made the instrument of fetching her to an intended Banquet: where wine walking lustely about, and manie merrie matters familiarly disputed on, it was set downe for an irreuocable determination, that no remedie, the Tripe-wife must dine next daye at her louers house. But it is wonderfull to speake on, with what zeale she paced thither, her apron in her hand all the way, which she had not so much leasure as to put on, but looked still behinde her, least she should be caught vp for waight and fashion. He, as anie kinde heart in like case would doo, doubting her comming, because she had so often dissembled with others, trudges to her house: but happie did hee esteeme that lost labor, when at his returne backe againe he found her where he wold haue her.

Now the Sisters lay on load for him, because hee had promised them large requitall: and how the tyme was waisted in conference, I know not, but wel I wot, home he would not let her goe that night, for now hee

C 3 had

sayle so farre as Pepper Alley, and thence to S. *Georges* Church: where because the Church-man was not readie, she must needs passe a large circuite. But I can tell ye wherefore that was: marrie to stop theyr mouthes, that said she durst not be married by daylight, therefore she despised two a clocke in the morning: A figge for them that dare not be married at ten a clock in the forenoone, and afterward home to dinner of her owne prouision, brought thether the day before. Here was a cunning bob for the rest. Call ye him a foole or a simple fellow, that had the wit to compasse such an ex-  
 ployt': well masters, sit you at the vpper end of the table, kisse and smowtch the Widdow neuer so much: there is one sits nethermost, hee hath an eye to his busi-  
 nes, and whatsoeuer you but barely hope for, hee is the man I tell ye, must carrie the wench away.

Oh, but well fare the frend that made such hast for the license: few wooers are beholding to such a deere *Damon*. And not at that time onely did he stand him in some sted, but in the countrie likewise he stucke closely to him. If he reward him not well for his paynes, he is verie much too blame: for both his countenance and credite were no meane helpes to him. Hold him then the best string to your bow (Neighbour) in getting the Tripe-wife.

Thus haue I been as good as my word vnto you, my verie kinde and honest Neighbour, in sending you this brieve collection of your aduentures: nor knowe I how to extoll sufficientlie your great deseruings, though iniquitie of time somewhat obscure your valor, reproachfully throwing this bone for you to gnawe on,  
 that

that had your labour been bestowed in better sort, than  
for a basket of Tripes and Chitterlings: some one or  
other would haue spoken to our Antiquarie, to haue  
written four lines at the least in praise of your passing  
proceeding. But seeing it is no better,

Giue loofers leaue to prate their fill,  
The Tripes are thine both good and ill.  
What others say, take thou no care,  
Puddings and Tripes are chapmens ware.





*Certaine reports spread abroad of the Tripe-wife  
and her late married husband, whereby if they  
be flandered or no, let themselves be their own  
Iudges.*

**F**irst for the Tripe-wife, that all the time of her widdowhood, her lips were so common in kissinge-[e]uerie one, and her hands so readie in receiuing all gifts whatfoeuer, tearing each suter husband, and making so little difference in outward kindnes, that either she imagined she might haue manie husbands, or dissemblingly thought to vse all alike. A fault, wherein if shee were guiltie, as it is credibly reported, doubtles it deserueth generall reproofe, and no milde censure of her verie deereft frends.

That likewise she was verie wantonly giuen, often desiring, like them long kept fasting, the louing morsell of a man. And to shewe her folly the more in this one poynt, I haue heard, that with her own hand she made a priuie search in a Gentlemans round hose, whether he ware them with a rowle, after the best fashion: or that they were voyd of all good shape and making.

That one of her Sisters, knowing her by nature to bee thus affected, willed him that hath married her, to shew her whether he were a man able for the field or no, and what good weapon hee carried about him: otherwise, there was no small hope of pleasing her, and lesse to

D

be

be expected of his successe.

Now whether he followed her good counsell or no, I am not able to say: but hence (as it is reported) grew *Dols* unhappie ayming at her throwing vpon the bed: Which if hee did alone, and no bodie else, it was the more valorously performed: but if he had any pertakers, it was the greater wrong to come so many against one bodie; for one to one is alwayes counted faire playe, manly and reasonable, but to oppresse by multitudes, is euer reckoned an apparant signe of cowardise.

That shee should sweare the night before shee was wedded, that she would neuer marrie with the Grocer he was such a logger-head: but if the former condition of the obligation stood in full force and vertue, then I imagine he had best right to her, except some hungrie fellow desired to follow, and sup vp his leauings.

And here (by the way) the generall rumour is to be examined: namely, that the night the stoole was puld from her, she had abuse offered her two seuerall waies: first to be vanquished by wine, a shrewd depriuer of the senses: then dastardlike to be throwne backward, and more laid on her, then she was able to beare. If thys be the way to get a wife, well may it be tearmed drunkenly done; but neuer to be reputed heroycall, like his other actiue agilities: marrie when no better way is left to speed, wel-fare the wine that won the widdow.

It is said also, that he promised my brother *William* the present release of foure score pound land by the yere (which he was not to enioy till the widdowes death) if he would (as he did) labour for his successe. And now that he hath sped, hee not onely in this breakes promise with him, but in a matter of two houses beside, stand-  
ing



ing behinde the shambles, the leafes whereof were by his deceafed brother made in his name, and conditioned that he should enter on them after his death: but byr ladie, my new married brother in law now fayer no: fo *William* is like to tarrie yet both for the land and houfes. But bee of good cheere Brother, you are not the firft that hath trauild for an vnkinde requiter, nor fhall be the laft muft lofe by him.

Both the Sisters (I heare) likewise are together by the eares, becaufe the ones rewarde exceeds the others, and there is fuch alledging, which of them hath beft deferued on his behalfe: that while they ftand contending, and counting how much they fhall haue for their paines, he turnes them off with a fillop of the finger, and flatly faith, now he hath what he would haue, let them goe feeke what they should haue. Sisters, I would haue *William* and you put your gaines together into a bottomlefse bag: and if at the yeeres end it encrease not, yet ye fhall be fure it will not be leffe than it is. Marry, (if ye can) turne your endeours another time to better aduantage: elfe you will bee thought vnwife, & he that fo thriues by your labor more fortunate.

Fie vpon ingratitude, cries poore *Richard*, hee will fell all his gettings for a pore pepper corne: yet he faies if promife had been kept, fiftie pounds in *effe* at the leaft should haue fallen to his fhare, befide the full and absolute power of his Sisters trade put ouer to him onely: where now, he is not onely deceiued of the one, but difappoynted of the other: and his vnkinde Sister the Tripe-wife, that I thinke will followe fowce feling euen in her graue, abbridges him of that paltrie prerogatiue, and flatly executes the office ftill her felfe.

D 2

What

What a lamentable Dittie is here in foure parts, of *Nihil habemus*, which doth not so much disturb the fingers, as it urgeth displeasure in the hearers. Good people, beware of wooers promises, they are like the musique of a Taber and Pipe: the Pipe sings golde, gifts, and manie gay things, but perfourmance moralized in the Taber, still beares the burden of I doubt it, I doubt it: which in my concept is a verie pitifull hearing.

Moreouer I vnderstand, that verie simply himselfe makes report, how weake his state stood, before he got the widdow, and that if she had not come when shee did, his inkhorn had been drye, and he not able to write one letter more.

What folly is this in anie man, to disclose his own Secretes: If it had been so, for shame I would neuer haue reueald it my selfe. But hence I perceiue growes the household disquietnes, as is said, betweene him and her, because she findes not what she expected, and therefore wilheth her selfe ouer head and eares in the sowe tub.

O what a mournfull mornings worke was that betweene my fat Sister and her, when she railed in Lombard-streete, for exchanging so much of her golde, and wilst she were behinde the Shambles againe as well as euer she was: for the roaring of the Thames, (or rather ranfacking of her bagges) so disquiets her nightly rest, that her other home was heauen in respect of London-bridge.

Beside, it is no manly part in him to make vaunt, how oft hee trickt the Tripe-wife before he had her. Fie, fie, I am content to winke at small faults, but (if  
ye



ye should be such a one) this were intollerable. Ile bee sworne, I made answere on your behalfe, where I had a round checke for my labour, I said, I durst haue layd my life yee would not vtter such a woorde for all the world. Peace foole quoth the aunswerer, the man is wife enough.

Then I heare how you goe bragging about, breathing forth horrible thundring threatens, because certaine bookes and ballads are printed of the Tripe-wife: ye said ye had the tricke to out-face all the wooers, and so yee would ouer-dare all the Printers: yee beknaue your betters, calling them at your owne pleasure, and then turn your tung to your taile when you haue done. What man? it will not snowe alwaies, neither can you or the best tenaunt yee haue, beare downe *Paules Church-yard*. Rather win them with kindnes, for extremitie auayles not, they know yee for a man and no more, and will care for ye as a man and no more.

I know a verie good frend of yours, who would bee heartely sorrie if these reports should be true, & means to talke with ye on them when hee next meetes ye: for my part, I am sure ye euer found me firme, and so vp-right vnto ye in wading thorough the cause, that as I would excuse nothing, so would I neuer iustifie anie thing.

Ye must regard the world as it is, naturally giuen to finde fault where anie cause is giuen, bee it neuer so little. And though all the stirre about the Tripe-wife be not worth the least peece of a Tripe: yet it sufficeth that yee haue wonne the spurres, from them all, and therefore let me adde these, as appendices vnto your Armes.

D 3

A



A Chitterling rampant in a field fowlant, two haggas puddings for the supporters, a Neates foote cleanly washt fixed on your creast, and a faire scrapde Tripe to couer all, for the mantle.

So with my hartie commendations to your good bed fellowe and your selfe, with all the rest of my approoued frends, I bid yee heartely farewell, this 2. of Aprill. 1595.

*By him that his more yours  
than his owne,*

*Oliuer Oat-meale.*

#### FIN

Hold *Oliuer* and thou be a good fellow, and let me in two or three words clap vp a conclusion, before thou fully end thy *Finis*.

In the Sowse-wiues time of retailing, thou wert not verie familiar, but since Tripes haue been ingrofd it seemes thou hast been her sweete harts Secretarie. Shall I be plaine with thee: I mislike the partialitie of thy Jurie, commend thy plainnes touching the reports, and giue thee this priueledge, that neither hee nor she shall euer hereafter trust thee, and therefore if thou haue anie more matter of truth, turne it to me, and I can send it to mad Daine, that meanes to thunder out terrible matter against Nichol neates foote, and Huff snuffe his neighbor. Farewell till within this fortnight by which time we shall either be all frends, or make our fude endlesse.

#### FINIS.

## NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Title-page, *Polimanteia* = a book of many oracles (I suppose) from 'mantium,' or Greek *μαντεῖον*.

*Epistle-dedictory* to Robert, earl of Essex . . . See Introduction on this illustrious as unfortunate historic name.

Page 3, l. 4, 'truly,'—the comma after 'truly,' and between it and 'honourable,' is a frequent and somewhat annoying punctuation in the book and contemporaneously; l. 7, 'ingeniously' = ingenuously.

„ 4, l. 1, 'male-contented' = mal-contented, or discontented and evil; l. 16, 'dispose' = disposal.

*The Preface to the Reader*, p. 5, l. 5, note the odd combination 'conceited-wise-foolish' = conceived to be 'wise' or by themselves assumed to be 'wise' yet actually 'foolish'; l. 13, 'sweet Salust'—an infelicitous adjective for the stern and terrible historian; l. 15, 'painefull' = painstaking; l. 30, 'degenerous' = degenerate; l. 34, 'My L. Henry Howard' = Surrey. The treatise does not appear to be known now. See also p. 19 at top.

Page 6, l. 4 from end, 'Balductum' = paltry affected writer. Nares *s.v.* quotes this passage. Latin verses. See Introduction for translation.

„ 9, l. 9, 'artificially' = artfully, or with art or skill.

„ 10, l. 2, 'Ape' = imitator.

„ 11, l. 18, 'manners' = morals.

„ 18, l. 6, 'nimble.' This word has previously occurred on p. 13, l. 1, 'nimble subtiltie.'

### ENGLAND TO HER THREE DAUGHTERS.

If W. C. was William Clerke (see Introduction) it is easy to understand how as himself a Cambridge man he places her first as eldest daughter; last line, 'naked truth'—a phrase that about a century later became historically famous in the controversies conducted by Marvell and Bishop Croft, &c., &c.; ll. 5-1 at bottom—the Englishman's pride in 'this England' imparts eloquence and power to this and parallel passages.

Page 25, l. 1, 'Sigebertus' . . . all mythical; last line, 'was' = wast, and so p. 26, l. 9.

„ 30, l. 9 (from bottom), 'petegree' = pedigree; last line, 'Padway' = Padua.

„ 31, l. 3, 'line-making'—a play on the word 'live' and 'Livie' = the immortalizer of Rome; l. 14, 'Champion'—another play on the name of the R. C. Champion—always to be distinguished from his namesake, Dr. Thomas Campion, Poet and Musician; l. 18, 'Louvain' = Louvain; *ib.*, 'Stapleton' (nay mine . . . ) = England, *i.e.*, the famous pervert was an Englishman: the

- margin-names need no annotation; for if Whitaker's once prodigious renown has long since ebbed away, except traditionally, Fulke's great book is still *quint*, and so with those below.
- Page 32, margin at top. It is significant of W. C.'s position that he classes '*Philomus*' with '*Athens*,' and oddly enough with '*Politicks*,' with the astonishing addendum 'Law must cut these off.' How things do repeat themselves! One of our Bishops not so long ago clutched 'Public Houses' and 'Nonconformist Chapels' together as alike (pestilent) obstacles to the progress of the Church (*i.e.*, his bit of the Church); L. 17, '*mate*' = match, or play with (as in chess); L. 4 (from bottom), '*an University and a town could not well agree*' — the old antagonism of town and gown! But it is curious to find Cambridge and Oxford spoken of as '*Universities*' and not '*towns*.'
- .. 33, ll. 5-6, '*Elephants . . . runny . . . at the skew of the Minstrel*' — a strange myth.
- .. 34, l. 7 (from bottom), '*divine Sydney*' = Sir Philip Sydney. So p. 35, l. 17, and side note; l. 6 (from bottom), '*Chrysalin Spenser*' = "the poet of poets," then (1595) still living; l. 5 (from bottom), '*Elizabeth*' — Elizabeth's. See margin note. So Henry Chettle in his *Mourning Garment* called on Shakespeare and all the poets to celebrate the great queen. Spenser has immortalized her in the *Fairy Queen*.
- .. 35, l. 4, '*Ferdinandes*' . . . see margin. This "late worthie Earle" (*pater*) was commemorated by the brilliant Falkland. See his Poems in *Fuller Worthies' Miscellanies*. So too Henry Lok (*ibid.*) and others contemporary; at bottom '*Hatten*.' See margin-note and Epistle-dedictory in our Introduction.
- .. 36, l. 11, '*met*' = motto or watchword; l. 15, '*bold ballads*' — one of a thousand contemporary girls at the 'ballad-makers,' whose popularity with the 'commonalty' eclipsed the fame and lessened the pecuniary gains of the more dignified poets. Even 'gentle Willy' has his flouts against them.
- .. 37, l. 4, '*intollable platterie of strangers wits*' — translations from Italian and French; ll. 8-17 and onward, Essex. See Epistle-dedictory and our Introduction.
- .. 38, l. 4 (margin-note), '*gentle Master Campion*' = Dr. Thomas Campion; l. 8 and margin-note, '*Oxford thou hast . . . Britton*' = Nicholas Breton, who was of Oriel College. See his Works, for first time collected, in *Chertsey Worthies' Library*, 2 vols., 4to; '*Percie*' = William Percy — whose 'Sonnets' form part of these Occasional Issues; '*Willobie*' — whose *Avia* is also in this Series; '*Fraunce*' = Abraham Fraunce — on whom see our Introduction to Poems by him in *Fuller Worthies' Miscellanies*; '*Lodge*' = Dr. Thomas Lodge; '*Master Davis of L. I.*' — Sir John Davies — see my collection of his complete Works

in Verse and Prose (3 vols.) in *Fuller Worthies' Library*, and his Poems (3 vols. in Chatto and Windus's *Early English Poets*); '*Drayton*' = Michael Drayton; '*Learned M. Plat*' = Sir Hugh Platt, author of *Flowers of Philosophie* . . . (1572), *Jewell House of Art and Nature* . . . (1594), &c., &c.; l. 5 (from bottom), '*appeare*' = appearance; l. 4 (from bottom), onward and margin-note, '*Th. Kidd*' = Cornelia [of Robert Garnier] translated by Thomas Kyd, 1594.

Page 39, l. 1, '*Paradise of daintie deuises*' = "devised and written for the most part by M. Edwardes . . . . 1576," onward in numerous editions and so falsifying the text; l. 3, '*Zepheria*' = Zipheria — *Ogni de viene la sera*. 1594; *ibid.*, '*Cephalus and Procris*' I have seen an early poem so entitled, but cannot recall the author; *ibid.* (margin-note), '*greedy Printers*' — Printers were then as often the Publishers; l. 8 (margin-note), '*Poetrie be tearmed Ryme*' — an odd complaint; l. 13 and onward, '*two childre fröds*' = Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe — extremely noticeable is this appeal to the two furious antagonists. I shall fully quote it in my editions of their Works in the *Huth Library*.

„ 40, l. 6, '*finifterly*' = left-handedly.

„ 42, l. 5, '*Bomonía*' — qu. misprint for '*Bolegna*'.

„ 44, ll. 8-9, and margin note, '*your truelie eternising Elias stile, M. Alabaster, Spenser and others*' — Dr. Alabaster's '*Elisæus*' (among the Bright MSS.), though 'lauded' by Spenser, never has been printed. Thomas Newton and others 'sang of her'; l. 10, '*Ronsard*' = Ronsard; l. 13, '*Bartaffe*' = du Bartas; l. 14, note the '*praise worthie*' in relation to the same applied to Shakespeare in margin-note; ll. 17-18, Spenser again lauded noticeably; l. 5 (from bottom) onward, '*Daniell*' = Samuel Daniel; margin-note, '*Sweet Shak/peare*,' and margin-note, p. 45. See our Introduction. As noted on l. 14, 'praise worthy' in text shews that 'praise worthy' of margin-note was not meant to have full stop or any punctuation, but to be applied to 'Lucrecia,' or 'The Rape of Lucrece'; '*Eloquent Gauefton*' = the legal writer? If so — a singular interpolation between first and second part of the note; '*Watsons heyre*' = Thomas Watson. See Introduction (as before); '*that diuine Lady*' = "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother"; '*Sir David Lynsay*' — A Scottish poet, whose Works Dr. David Laing collected and edited admirably (3 vols, 1879); '*Matilda*' = another of Daniel's poems—for others see text (p. 45); '*Diana*' = of Henry Coustable; margin-note at bottom, '*Prucul*' = procul; l. 4 (from bottom), '*Grofers*' = grocers—who buying (so-called) 'waste paper' then and since often made havoc of books.

„ 46, l. 3, '*period*' = make a period or end.

the 'Brownists' are now appreciated — after every deduction — as saintly men and women who yearned after that Gospel which 'the Church' (so-called) denied then or knew not. Cf. Hopkins' *Puritans* and Dr. Dexter's great recent work, on *Barrow and his compeers*.

Page 111, (top margin-note) — an early recognition of 'judicious Hooker'; l. 10, '*paultered*' = pilfered or qu. = pelted, bought and sold or trafficked?

#### LOYALTIES SPEECH TO ENGLAND'S CHILDREN.

Page 116 — these denunciations of Puritanism sound grotesque to-day in the knowledge of what the Puritans and Nonconformists have been and done for England.

#### II. A QUEST OF ENQUIRY, &c. = Inquest.

Page 145, l. 7, '*a cast*' = help or aid? but see Nares, *s.v.*

„ 146, l. 16, '*at this time is possesst of a worshipfull place*' — qu. Decker?

„ 147, l. 12, '*a waterman*' — qu. a *hit* at John Taylor the Waterman poet? l. 25, '*ouerthwart*' = cross.

„ 148, l. 5, '*Sowce-wife*' = pickle (with salt) = Tripe or pigs feet seller; *ibid.* '*fraile*' = slender basket; l. 19, '*fig'd*' = fidgetted.

„ 150 l. 8, '*chitterlings*' = small entrails.

„ 151 l. 22, '*Treuot*' = three legged stool.

„ 152, l. 18, '*by-bloue*' = bastard.

„ 154, l. 4 (from bottom), '*spurrialles*' = spur royals or gold coin worth about 15s.

„ 155, l. 5, '*inward*' = intimate; l. 24, '*mary*' = marry.

„ 157, l. 19, '*affection*' = like, fancy.

„ 158, l. 8, '*censure*' = judge; l. 7 (from bottom), '*Trillibubs*' = anything trifling — applied to 'tripe,' now, it is 'trolley bags.'

„ 160, l. 9, '*Ieffray Kexon*' — one of the then 'ballad makers.'

„ 161, l. 18, '*ammering*' = muttering.

„ 163, l. 7 (from bottom), '*loft labour*' — a current contemporary phrase seized and immortalized by Shakespeare; l. 4 (from bottom), '*lay on load*' — heavily, as 'loady' is = heavy?

„ 164, l. 4, '*whilled*' = whetted — pointing to the root-word of 'whittle'; l. 16, '*aduerbe*' = proverb.

„ 165, l. 10, '*bole*' = bowl? l. 13, '*smoutch*' = smudge.

„ 168, l. 19, '*vanquished by wine, a shrewd depriuer of the senses*.' Cf. *Othello*, ii, 3, ll. 284-8: "O God! that men should put an enemy in their mouths, to steal away their brains! that we should with joy, pleasure, revel, and applause, transform ourselves into beasts."

„ 169, l. 3, '*byr ladie*' = by our Lady = Mary.

„ 171, l. 9, '*certaine bookes and ballads are printed of the Tripe-wife*' — I have not traced any of these even with the assistance of the keenest nose of all living researchers for a ballad, my good friend the Rev. J. W. Ebsworth of Molash. A. B. G.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

XXXV. ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND.

A QUEST OF ENQUIRIE.

- Page 145, l. 7, '*Pistle*' = epistle — the shortening is very old. A. S. *pistel*.  
 „ 149, l. 5, '*Succades*' = sweet meats; l. 7, '*Sony*' — still the pronunciation.  
 „ 151, l. 10 (from bottom), '*Siffers*' — opposed to '*sheeres*' — the latter vulgar (A. S. *sceara*).  
 „ 152, l. 20, '*old truepenny*.' Cf. *Hamlet*, 1, v. 150.  
 „ 158, l. 7 (from bottom), '*more than a moneth's minde*.' Cf. Tofte's *Alba*.  
 „ 171, l. 1, '*haggis*' — Northern word — now only Scotch ('haggis').











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